Fitz

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SOME INTERPRETATIVE ASPECTS OF LUTHER'S NEW TESTAMENT

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EDITIONS OF LUTHER'S NEW TESTAMENT IN WHICH INTERPRETATIVE DATA OCCUR

Edition Designation	Number in W.A.D.B.[1]	Printer	Remarks
1522	1	Melch. Lotther	"Septemberbibel"
1522ii	2	Melch. Lotther	"Dezemberbibel"
1526ii	8	Mich. Lotther	
1527ii	10	Lufft (?)	
1530	11	Lufft	
1533	13	Lufft	Becomes part of full Bible of 1534
1539	18, 25	Lufft	New Testament and full Bible editions
1541	28	Lufft	
1543	29	Lufft	
1545	31	Lufft	
1546	32	Lufft	

[1]Symbols for editions based on W.A.D.B., Bd. 6, pp. xxi-xxiii where all the Bible and New Testament editions are listed with symbols used in other studies of Luther's Bibles and New Testaments. Complete Luther Bible Bibliography (including pirate printings) by Pietsch in W.A.D.B., Bd. 2.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A.Q. = Augustana Quarterly, XIII (1934). "Luther's Prefaces to the Old Testament Apocryphal Books," George F. Hall, p. 195 ff.

Enders = Enders, E. L. Briefwechsel. Frankfort: Schriftenniederlage des Evangel. vereins, 1884.

R.E. = Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Leipzig, 1896-1909.

W.A. = Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamntausgabe, Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus, 1883--.

W.A.D.B. = Ibid., Deutsche Bibel, 7 vols., Bd. 6 (1929) and Bd. 7 (1931) on the German New Testament.

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[1]O. M. Norlie (ed.), The Translated Bible 1534-1934 (Philadelphia; United Lutheran Publishing House, 1934).

[2]M. Reu, Luther's German Bible (Columbus, Ohio; Lutheran Book Concern, 1934).

[3]For complete bibliographical data see "Catalogs and Lists" in our Bibliography.

[4]Cf. Bibliography, "Pre-Luther Bibles."

CHAPTER I

PROLEGOMENA

1. The General Field of Luther's German Bible

Although a great deal of work has been accomplished on Luther's German Bible nothing has been done until the last few years to put the results of these researches into a convenient book. The 400th anniversary of Luther's translation brought forth many writings on Luther's Bible. Most of them like the volume edited by Norlie[1] were mediocre and unsatisfactory. But Reu succeeded in making this distinct contribution.[2]

The catalogs and lists of Hain (1826-1838), Copinger (1892-1902), Mayer (1892), Prebisch (1901), Reichling (1905-1911), Pietsch (1909), Thiele (1917), Jordan (1919), Volz (1924), and Hiersemann (1925) have thrown much light on Bible circulation prior to and including the Reformation.[3]

The German Bible before Luther has been the object of research by Kehrein (1851), Walther (1889-1892), Kurrelmeyer (1904), Falk (1905), Ziesemer (1927), and Maurer (1929).[4] Bible literature before Luther has been treated by Palm (1867), Merzdorf (1870), Alzog (1874), Reuss (1885), Manitius (1911),

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[1]O. M. Norlie (ed.), The Translated Bible 1534-1934 (Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publishing House, 1934).

[2]M. Reu, Luther's German Bible (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1934).

[3]For complete bibliographical data see "Catalogs and Lists" in our Bibliography.

[4]Cf. Bibliography, "Pre-Luther Bibles."

Vollmer (1925---), and Pietsch (1927).[1] The development of printing has been the subject of writings by Falk (1879, 1901), Dziatzko (1891), J. Luther (1917), and Schramm (1922).[2]

The history of the German language before Luther has been treated by H. Boehmer (1899) and Kluge (1920). Luther's language and his contribution to the development of the German language has been discussed by Wetzel (1859), Lehmann (1873), Mueller (1882), Hopf (1847, 1883), Pietsch (1883), Burdach (1884, 1894, and 1924), J. Luther (1887), Wunderlich (1887), Neubauer (1903, 1907-1908, and 1914), Ranke (1905), Gutjahr (1910), Francke (1913-1922), v. Schubert (1917), Julius Boehmer (1919), Risch (1922), Meyer (1930), Dreger (1931), Ritter (1933), and Preuss (1934).[3]

Humanism and Luther's Bible has been discussed by Bauch (1895, 1896), Andreen (1931), and Kluge (1934).[4]

The sources of Luther's translation have been investigated by Palm (1735), Grimm (1884), Walther (1891, 1909), Risch (1917), Roethe (1922), Freitag (1927-28, 1929, and 1931), Hirsch (1928), and Pahl (1931).[5]

Luther's Bible and literature has been treated by Zerener (1911), Reu (1904-1934), Merker (1918), and Roethe (1918).[6]

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[1] Cf. Bibliography, "Bible Literature Before Luther."

[2] Cf. Bibliography, "Printing."

[3] Cf. Bibliography, "History of the German Language."

[4] Cf. Bibliography, "Humanistic Studies."

[5] Cf. Bibliography, "Sources of Luther's Translation."

[6] Cf. Bibliography, "The Bible and Literature."

Luther's German Bible, in addition to the monumental work of Reu previously mentioned, has been the scene of much activity.[1] Köstlin (1883), Grimm (1884), Nestle (1896), Köstlin and Kawerau (1903), Risch (1907), Walther (1909, 1917), Reichert (1910), Smith (1911), Grisar (1912), Hausrath (1914), Reu (1917, 1934), Schramm (1923), Mackinnon (1925), Hirsch (1928), Albrecht (1929, 1930), Brenner and Drescher (1929), Beyer (1929), Freitag (1931), and Norlie (1934) have made generalizations in this field.

The majority of the literature on the September-bibel appeared on its 400th anniversary. Prior to this time Kuhn (1901), in a dissertation discussed the problems involved. Köhler (1910) discusses other problems in connection with the Wartburg postil. In 1922 Delle, Kawerau, Lietzmann, and Roethe wrote on this subject. E. v. Dobschuetz (1923) and Beyer (1930) are more recent.[2] The revisions have been given attention by Bertram (1780), Reichert (1918, 1923), and Albrecht (1929).[3] Goeze (1775) and Schaub (1889) have worked on the Low German Bible.[4]

The influence of Luther on other translators is a large field.[5] Mezger (1876), v. Bachmann (1909), and Hadorn (1925) discuss its influence on Swiss literature and Bibles. Eidem (1923), Bergendoff (1928), Carlfeldt (1934), and Youngert (1934)

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[1]Cf. Bibliography, "Luther's German Bible."

[2]Cf. Bibliography, "The September-bibel."

[3]Cf. Bibliography, "Revisions."

[4]Cf. Bibliography, "The Low German Bible."

[5]Cf. Bibliography, "The Influence of Luther on other Translators."

write of its influence on Swedish Bibles. Westcott (1905), Gruber (1917, 1928), and Goodspeed (1925) consider its relation to the English Bible. A series of essays in Norlie (1934) discuss its relation to the Danish (Dorf), Swedish (Youngert), Icelandic (Marteinsson), Norwegian (Evjen), Finnish (Wargelin), Slavic (Body), and English (Gruber). Balogh (1897) deals with the Magyar translation, Belsheim in R. E. (1897) discusses both Finnish and Scandinavian Bibles, and van Druten (1896) describes its relation to the Netherland Bibles.

The result of these many researches has been to present a new picture of Bible circulation at the time of Luther, Luther's own contribution and methods as a translator, and his abiding influence on the standard Bible translations of many nations.

2. Luther's Principles of Interpretation

This field has also received a good share of attention. Luther's education and his development as an exegete has been the subject of research work by Mueller (1885), Galle (1907), Neubauer (1916), Scheel (1917, 1925), v. Schubert (1918), v. Schubert and Meissinger (1920), Steinlein (1912), H. Boehmer (1914, 1924, 1925), Ficker (1928), and Lawson (1933).[1]

Holl's monumental essay (1923) dominates the field today. Prior to Holl the following made contributions in this field: Grundt (1889), Undritz (1897), Preuss (1901), Scheel (1902), Thimme (1903), Walther (1903), Kropatscheck (1904), Ritschl (1908), Noesgen (1909), Meissinger (1911), Smith (1911),

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[1]Cf. Bibliography, "Luther's education, lectures, etc."

Reichert (1918), Kolmodin (1919), and Reu (1921). Holl is followed by his pupil Risch (1928), Körner (1928), Schempp (1928), Vogelsang (1929), and Althaus (1934).[1]

All of these writers have followed more or less the same pattern and aim to trace the development of Luther's interpretative principles. All have used practically the same sources. None of these have used, even in a secondary way, the marginal notes as a source. The outstanding prefaces have been given due emphasis.

3. Previous Work on the Specific Field of this Dissertation

The text of Luther's New Testament and its variants from 1522-46 has been worked ou in detail in the Weimar edition of the Deutsche Bibel. Helpful essays and critical comment by the editors are also included. Kawerau and Reichert edited a printed reproduction of the 1522 New Testament with its marginal notes.

The Prefaces for the Old and New Testament have been translated by C. M. Jacobs although not critically. The Weimar text was not available then. The Prefaces to the Apocryphal books were omitted "as interesting but not important."[2] The writer translated these prefaces. Materials for this study are also available in the Erlangen edition and the Bindseil-Niemeyer Luther Bible. The Weimar edition, with its opposite pages of 1522 and 1546 text, far exceeds its predecessors in accuracy. Its text has been used for this study.[3]

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[1] Cf. Bibliography, "Luther's Interpretation."

[2] Works of Martin Luther (Philadelphia: Holman), VI, 366.

[3] Cf. Bibliography, "Sources."

The marginal notes are not available in English. An exception is Tyndale's New Testament which translated Luther's glosses into its own margins. But that is fragmentary. Gruber[1] has made use of the notes in his comparison of Tyndale and Luther and has printed them for purposes of comparison.

The Prefaces have been used widely for the study of Luther's canon.[2] For a clear concise treatment Goodspeed (1926), leads the field. Reu (1934) is the latest contribution. Kawerau (1889), Westcott (1896), Moore (1904), Leipboldt (1906, 1908), Gregory (1907), Howarth (1908), Walther (1909), and Jacquier (1911) are standard in the field.

The present study of Luther's canon is unique in three respects. Luther's religious experience is seen as the norm. The study does not concern itself with books as much as with standards. These standards are then compared to similar standards used by Luther in his treatment of the Old Testament canon.

As stated previously the prefaces have been used in a fragmentary way for the purposes of interpretative study although no attempt has previously been made to limit the sources to the prefaces and marginal notes alone. It is difficult to find anything in Luther that has been overlooked in the field of research as much as the marginal notes. A few pages in the Weimar edition,[3] these condensed in Reu,[4] and Gruber's[5] work on them in connection with his study of Luther and Tyndale's New

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[1]L. Franklin Gruber, The First English New Testament and Luther (Burlington, Iowa: The Luth. Lit. Board, 1928).

[2]Cf. Bibliography, "Luther's Canon."

[3]W. A. D. B. Bd.6 pp lxxix-lxxv; Bd. 7 pp xxv-xli.

[4]Reu, op. cit. [5]Gruber, op. cit.

Testament represent the sum total of work done on them in scholarly circles. Valuable for the present study is the establishment of their text with variants, comments on their language and sources in the Weimar edition. No attempt has been made previous to this present study to use the notes and prefaces as a source for an analysis of Luther's principles of interpretation.

4. Methodology

The method of study used in this dissertation was suggested by unpublished colophon studies by Dr. E. C. Colwell. The method used by Colwell consists primarily of classification by certain set patterns or types. It is based on the supposition that the writer of pithy comments invariably follows set patterns of literary or functional expression.

Two kinds of classification are made in this study. The primary classification is the functional significance of the preface or note in question. Its function expresses its interpretative principle. The literary classification is noted secondarily. Obviously the literary classification is not bound to the functional classification. In the prefaces the literary and functional types correspond more closely.

As suggested by Dr. D. W. Riddle in his lectures on Luther's interpretation of the New Testament, the norm for the study is the religious experience of Luther.

Luther's prefaces for the New Testament books fall into four major functional types. A fifth is added which is a major type in the prefaces to the Apocryphal books but does not figure greatly in the New Testament prefaces.

The propaganda preface.- This type of preface tells the reader what approach he should make to the contents of a book or books. It deals with theological word study and concepts. Prominent examples of this type are the prefaces to the New Testament, Romans, and I John.

The polemic preface.- Four prefaces occur of this type, three making their initial appearance in 1530. One (Acts) appeared in 1533. Luther discovered material for his polemic on the papacy in Acts, I Corinthians, and Revelation. The Vorspruch notice is also of this type.

The apologetic preface.- In the prefaces to the "awkward squad," Luther is plainly apologetic. He is defending his evaluation of them. These prefaces are Hebrews, James, and Revelation (1522). II and III John (in the preface to I John) are also of this type.

The digest preface.- In the digest preface Luther gives the content of the book usually by chapters. The following prefaces are of this type: I (1522) and II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I and II Thessalonians, I and II Timothy, Titus, Philemon, I and II Peter.

The historical background preface.- There is no clear example of this type of preface in the New Testament. This type is used in a secondary way in I and II Corinthians, Galatians, II Timothy, I Peter, and I John. His objections to Hebrews, James, and Jude are based in a secondary way upon historical considerations.

In the Old Testament Apocryphal Prefaces Luther uses this type to advantage with the majority of them, especially

the Wisdom of Solomon where he reconstructs the situation producing the book.

The prefaces are classified in the following literary types which correspond to the functional types.

The digest type.- Each paragraph begins on this order Am funfften leret er, etc. Each chapter follows in order. The first paragraph is usually the summary of the book's message or a hint at the situation producing the book. The preface ends rather flat with a digest of the last chapter. A typical example is the preface to I Corinthians (1522).

> Die Epistel zu den Romern hat sanct Paulus geschrieben vom glauben und wercken fast ordentlich. Aber ynn dieser ersten zu den Corinthern / richtet er mancherley sachen aus / die draus entsprungen sind. Und auffs erst / handelt er.....
> .....
> Am funfftzehenden / strafft er die von der aufferstehung des fleysches unrecht geleret und glawbt hatten. Am letzten vermanet er sie zu bruderlicher hulff ynn zeytlicher narung den durfftigen.

The apologetic type.- The first paragraph is usually a forceful statement of his reasons for rejecting the book. Like all apologetic it is an attempt to rationalize a decision already formulated. The last paragraph is usually mediating urging each one to find the particularly good things in the book. The preface to Hebrews (1522) is a good example.

> Bis her haben wyr die rechten gewissen hewbt bucher des newen testaments gehabt / Dise vier nach folgende aber / haben vor zeyten eyn ander ansehen gehabt / Und auffs erst / das dise Epistel zu den Ebreen nicht Sanct Paulus noch eynigs Apostel sey.....
> .....
> Wer sie aber geschrieben hab / ist unbewust / will auch wol unbewust bleyben noch eyn weyle / da ligt auch nichts an / Uns soll benugen an der lere / die er so bestendiglich aus und in der schrifft grundet / Und gleych / eyn rechten feynen gryff und mas zeygt / die schrifft zu lesen und handeln.

The propaganda type.- This type of preface gives the approach to the book in the first paragraphs. The last paragraph summarizes the approach and urges its use. Examples of this type include the Preface to the New Testament (1522), Romans (1522), and Acts (1533). Portions quoted as exemplary of this type are from the second and last paragraphs of the 1522 Preface to the New Testament.

> Darumb ist auffs erste zu wissen / das abtzuthun ist der wahn das vier Euangelia und nur vier Euangelisten sind.....
> .....
> Sihe / nu richte dich alszo ynn die bucher des newen testaments das du sie auff disze weyze zu leszen wyssest.

The polemic type.- The polemic type has little to distinguish itself in a literary way. Its mark is the strong direct language towards Luther's opponents.

All the above preface types reflect Luther's experience. The Dogest type reflects his desire to make a Bible intelligible to every reader. The Propaganda type reflects his theological conclusions and the approach that gave the most value to him. The Apologetic reflects the use of his experience as a norm rejecting the books that did not teach as his experience had taught him. The Polemic reflects his experiences with his opponents and their criticism of him.

In classifying the notes as to their functional significance, those types are noted which pertain to the text.

The language note.- This type expresses the principle that the translation should be good, clear German. Where this is not possible, where words infrequently used are necessary, this type of note is intended to clear the difficulty.

Things.- Scriptural scenery and characters must be made

vivid to the reader. Modern equivalents are used.

Textual criticism.- The text, according to Luther, must conform to its evident meaning. Where it has the rest of scripture in disagreement, scribal error must be supposed. Often these notes explain omissions or variants from the Vulgate.

Paraphrase.- Where the text does not permit a free understandable rendition paraphrase is used. More freedom in the use of everyday German idiom is permitted in these notes.

Scripture interprets itself.- Scripture's best interpreter is scripture. This proposition is based on the supposition of the unity of scripture.

Aids to Bible study.- These consist of study helps for the novice and are intended to aid the local memory of the learned. Notes describing the course of thought or action and indicating a division in contents are typical. This type is usually included in the general classification of "Edification."

Notes describing Luther's experiences are few. These notes are grouped under the heading "Experience." While all the notes are the result of and reflect his experiences, this term is applied only to those which seem to reflect specific recent experiences.

All of the notes are for propaganda purposes. Some of the specific types in this category follow.

Propaganda.- This type of note aims to give the reader the correct approach to scripture.

The unity of scripture.- This is based on the maxim that scripture cannot disagree within itself. Included in this classification are the notes which read Christ into the Old Testament, which read Paul's theology into all scripture, which

deal with the agreement of the Old Testament with the New Testament, and compare the Gospels with a view to harmonization.

Allegory.- The term allegory in designating this class of notes is used in a general sense. Luther discarded the fourfold interpretation of all scripture but he continued to use a controlled allegory. Allegory is here understood as elaborated metaphor in which conceptions of one class are expressed in forms of another. Abstract ideas are personified and the reverse. Three distinct types of allegory are noticed in these notes. Where the text uses allegory the commentator must follow to make the meaning clear to the reader. The commentator frequently allegorizes the text. That is allegory of the commentator. Sometimes a literal interpretation is contrary to Christian faith and principles. A spiritual interpretation is resorted to under those circumstances.

Paraphrase.- Where restatement of the text is more effective for Luther's purposes, paraphrase is used. This is paraphrase with a propaganda purpose.

Edification.- Notes in this class are divided into three groups. "Popular Theology" designates those notes which indicated Lutheran doctrines for the benefit of the reader. "Devotional" notes are an aid to the meditative qualities of scripture. "Exhortation" concerns itself with the Christian life and its attainment. The latter is often designated as "Exhortation for the Practical Christian Life."

Theological.- This class is differentiated from the above class under "Edification" in that this note is in Latin and is intended for students or specialists in theology. These notes state the doctrine demonstrated by scripture.

Polemic.- Polemic notes are directed primarily against the Pope and the Papists; the sects, such as the Zwickau Prophets and the radical parties of Protestantism; and against popular superstitions and beliefs.

Four definite literary forms are used in these notes.

The definitive note type.- This type is commonly used to define words or describe things. Matt. 5:22 of 1522 is an example of the language note in a definitive literary type.

> Racha ist das rauch scharren ym halsz / und begreyffet alle zornige zeychen.

This literary type used in the description of things comes from Luke 19:4 of 1522.

> συκάμινος morus est, supra cap. xvii. συκομοραία ficus aegyptia non caprificus a ficu & moro Vide Athen li. ii.

Paraphrase.- This type may occur with or without the introductory Das ist. Two examples are given, the first from Luke 2:29 of 1522 and the second from Luke 4:22 of 1541.

> Das ist, Au will ich frohlich sterben.
>
> Wie gehets zu, das Josephs son so leren und reden kan, der arme zimmerknecht.

Digest or aid to Bible study.- This states the content of the chapter or section. The example is from Revelation 14:14 of 1530.

> Ein furbilde des gerichts.

Theology.- This states in Latin the doctrine illustrated by the text. The example is from Acts 9:35; 1541.

> Verbo, sine lege & operibus

5. Form of Presentation

To present the material in as concise a manner as possible the following organization of materials has been followed. For the prefaces the order of materials is as follows: Year of edition in which it first occurs; Variations; Major functional type; Its literary type; Minor functions to be noted; Miscellaneous items to be noted.

In the description of the notes the following order of data has been observed: The Biblical reference; The edition; Variations; Its functional type; Its literary type; Other elements to be noted, sources, etc. Since the material is organized in the individual books according to function, this item is omitted although stated above in the form of description.

CHAPTER II

LUTHER'S STANDARDS OF CANONICITY

1. The Cardinal Principle

Luther's cardinal principle by which the books of the New Testament were to be evaluated is found in his preface to James and Jude.[1] All other considerations, literary or traditional, were to be subordinated to this principle.

> Und daryn stymmen alle rechtschaffene heylige bucher uber eyns, das sie alle sampt Christum predigen und treyben. Auch ist das der rechte prufesteyn alle bucher zu taddelln, wenn man sihet, ob sie Christum treyben, odder nit. Syntemal alle schrifft Christum zeyget Ro. 3 unnd Paulus nichts denn Christum wissen will .1. Cor. 2. Was Christum nicht leret, das ist nicht Apostolisch, wens gleich Petrus odder Paulus leret. Widerumb, was Christum predigt, das ist Apostolisch, wens gleych Judas, Annas, Pilatus und Herodes thett.

It is the religious value that matters. Luther's experience of salvation is the touchstone for the understanding of his standards of canonicity. That which gives the religious values he has found essential through his religious experience is the heart of the scriptures. He complained against the Apocalypse that his spirit could not fit itself into that book.[2] Experience had become so paramount that each individual was to judge the books by his own subjective judgment. Apostolicity to Luther was not dependent on authorship but contents. The contents made the writing apostolic if it drove Christ.

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[1]"Vorrhede auff die Episteln Sanct Jacobi unnd Judas" (1522), W.A.D.B. Bd. 7, p. 384.

[2]"Vorrhede auff die offinbarung Sanct Johannis" (1522), ibid., p. 404.

The Word of God is within scriptures. Some books to a greater extent than others have this Word. The works of Jesus are of little benefit compared with his teachings. Within the apostolic books the differentiation must be made. Some are the pure gospel which is beneficial according to the subjective experiential standards of Luther. How faith in Christ overcomes sin, death, and hell, and gives life, righteousness, and salvation is the real nature of the Gospel.[1]

> Denn wo ich yhe der eyns mangelln sollt, der werck odder der predigt Christi, szo wollt ich lieber der werck, denn seyner predigt mangelln. Denn die werck hulffen myr nichts, aber seyne wort die geben das leben, wie er selbs sagt.

Based upon Luther's subjective judgment there are at least three levels of inspiration in the New Testament. These three might be stated as follows: those containing the purest Gospel; those containing a mixed Gospel; and those which are not apostolic because they fail to drive Christ.

2. The Chief Books

Luther has two statements in wilchs die rechten und Edlisten bucher des newen testaments sind listing the chief books of the New Testament. The one qualifies the other. St. John's Gospel and St. Paul's Epistles, especially that to the Romans, and St. Peter's First Epistle are the rechte kern und marck unter allen buchern. The second statement specifies and adds the First Epistle of John, Galatians and Ephesians.

About John's Gospel Luther wrote:

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[1]"wilchs die rechten und Edlisten bucher des newen testaments sind" (1522), ibid., Bd. 6, p. 10.

> Weyl nu Johannes gar wenig werck von Christo, aber gar viel seyner predigt schreybt, widderumb die andern drey Euangelisten viel seyner werck, wenig seyner wort beschreyben, ist Johannis Euangelion das eynige zartte recht hewbt Euangelion under den andern dreyen weyt weyt fur zu zihen und hoher zu heben.

John is the spiritual Gospel. Its author was called "a son of thunder" by Jesus because he was to write <u>das rechte Euangelium</u> which is powerful preaching. Like thunder it frightens everyone and makes the earth fruitful.[1]

The First Epistle of John is a genuine apostolic Epistle and ought properly to follow right after his Gospel. He opposes those who boast of faith without works. Works cannot be absent where faith is present. But he does not insist on the law to attain this but invites us to love as God has loved us.[2]

<u>Dise Epistel ist das rechte Heubtstuckt des newen Testaments, und das aller lauterst Euangelion.</u>[3] That is what Luther has to say about Romans. This book is worthy of being the daily bread of the soul. It can never be read or pondered too much, and the more it is dealt with the more precious it becomes. Luther's personal experience comes to the fore. Follow the order of the epistle in your experience, is his advice to the reader. Worry first about Christ and the Gospel; recognizing your sin and his grace, fight your sin; then, when you have reached the eighth chapter and are under the cross and suffering, that will teach you the right doctrine of predestination. This

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[1]Marginal notes on Mark 3:17 (1522^{ii}) and John 20:17 (1522), <u>ibid</u>.

[2]"Vorrede auff die drey Episteln sanct Johannis" (1522), <u>ibid</u>., Bd. 7, p. 326.

[3]"Vorrede auff die Epistel S. Pauli an die Römer" (1522), <u>ibid</u>., p. 2 ff.

epistle is an introduction to both the Old and New Testament. It contains in brief form the whole Christian and evangelical doctrine. The light and power of the Old Testament is within the individual who has this Epistle well in his heart.[1]

Galatians is a chief book because it concludes that everyone must be justified by faith without merit, works, or the law, and only through Christ.[2] Ephesians teaches what the Gospel is. It was provided by God alone in eternity and earned and sent forth through Christ. All who believe on this become righteous and are free from the law, sin, and death.[3]

I Peter was written to the converted heathen. They are exhorted to stand fast in faith and to increase through all manner of suffering and good works.[4] It strengthens their faith and teaches that they ought to live holy lives. Christ is the head and cornerstone, and like him they should sacrifice themselves to God.

These chief books show Christ and teach all that it is necessary and good to know. They are sufficient even though one might never see or hear any other book or doctrine.[5] For Luther all of Christianity was contained in the thesis of salvation by grace alone without any merit or works. That criterion became his through his religious experience of salvation.

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[1] Ibid., p. 26.

[2] "Vorrede auff die Epistel sanct Pauli Zu den Galatern" (1522), ibid., p. 172.

[3] "Vorrede auff die Epistel sanct Pauli zu den Ephesern" (1522), ibid., p. 190.

[4] "Vorrede auff die Erst Epistel sanct Peters" (1522), ibid., p. 298.

[5] "wilchs die recht...."

3. The Secondary Books

Although the remaining apostolic books of the New Testament contain much good the Christian could do very nicely without them with the chief books in his possession. The books of this large middle class are not on an equal level. The Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter far surpass the Synoptic Gospels.

Luther's appreciation of Acts came too late to evaluate it in the wilchs die rechten und Edlisten bucher des newen testaments sind of 1522. This preface to Acts (1533), was influenced by his work on the proposed liber de loco iustificationis of 1530.[1] This work was never written. Little attention was given Acts before this time when Luther recognized in it a powerful polemic for that doctrine. It must be counted as one of the better books of this class. These books are apostolic. For the writings of Luke and Mark it was sufficient that they had associated with the apostles. Their content contained the religious values which made them apostolic. These books satisfy the standard of apostolicity.

I Corinthians exhorts its readers to be careful to learn the chief thing, at which all reason and wisdom stumbles; namely, that Christ is our salvation.[2] Luther's people need such a letter. It condemns dangerous wisdom. Its statement that love is greater than faith must be qualified.[3] But it drives

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[1] Ibid., Bd. 6, pp. 414-415. Cf. M. Reu, "Editorial comments on Preface to Acts," Luther's German Bible (Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1934), p. 227. Also W.A. 30, II, 657 ff.

[2] "Vorrede auff die Erste Epistel An die Corinther," ibid., Bd. 7, p. 82, ll.13-15.

[3] Marginal note on I Cor. 13:13.

the main thing, that Christ is our salvation, righteousness, and redemption. In the second epistle, Paul is a preacher of comfort.[1] He praises the office of the gospel in comparison with the office of the law. Philippians rejects human righteousness that is taught by the false apostles.[2] Colossians resembles Ephesians and comprises in outline the same contents. Gospel and faith are defined as a wisdom which recognizes Christ as Lord and God, crucified for us.[3] The Thessalonians are praised in the first epistle to them because of their example of faith.[4] Paul's explanation of the last day in the first epistle gave rise to another question because of misunderstanding.[5] The rebuke to the idlers is directed to the clergy of Luther's day. I Timothy was written for all bishops so that it would not be necessary for them to rule Christians according to their own human opinions.[6] He is to resist the preachers of the law and the false bishops who among other things will forbid marriage. Their chief concern should be to cleave to the pure gospel.

Paul's prophecy about the false teachers in II Timothy is all too abundantly fulfilled in the clergy.[7] A bishop

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[1]"Vorrede auff die Ander Epistel su den Corinthern," ibid., p. 138.

[2]"Vorrhede auff die Epistel sanct Pauli zu den Philippern, ibid., p. 210.

[3]"Vorrhede auff die Epistel sanct Pauli zu den Colossern," ibid., p. 224.

[4]"Vorrhede auff die Erst Epistel sanct Pauli zu den Thessalonicern," ibid., p. 238.

[5]"Vorrede auff die Ander Epistel sanct Pauli zu den Thessalonicern," ibid., p. 250.

[6]"Vorrede auff die Erst Episteln sanct Pauli an Timotheon," ibid., p. 258.

[7]"Vorrede auff die Ander Epistel sanct Pauli an Timotheon," ibid., p. 272.

should always watch and work at the gospel. Titus is a model of Christian doctrine which contains all that it is necessary for a Christian to know and live by.[1] Philemon is an illustration of Christian love.[2] Paul takes the part of Onesimus and lays aside his rights. What Christ has done for us with God the Father, that St. Paul does for Onesimus with Philemon.

Second Peter was written against those who think Christian faith can be without good works.[3] It praises the Gospal and condemns the doctrines of men.

II and III John are not epistles of doctrine. They are examples of love and faith, and have a true apostolic spirit.[4] This statement is apologetic! Ancient authorities were divided in their evaluation of these books.

Acts is not to be interpreted as examples of good works and good lives. It teaches instead the true chief point of Christian doctrine.[5] This doctrine is the cause for writing it. Gentiles as well as Jews are justified by the gospel only. It is really eine glose on the Epistles of St. Paul. This book is a fair mirror which shows that sola fides justificat. All the contents come to that one thing. It is apostolic, though Luke wrote it, because its contents satisfies Luther's criterion for apostolicity.

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[1]"Vorrede auff die Epistel sanct Pauli An Titon," ibid., p. 284.

[2]"Vorrede auff die Epistel sanct Pauli zu Philemon," ibid., p. 292.1.3.

[3]"Vorrede auff die Ander Epistel sanct Peters," ibid., p. 314.

[4]"Vorrede auff die drey Episteln sanct Johannis," ibid., p. 326.

[5]"Vorrede auff der Aposteln Geschichte," ibid., Bd. 6, p. 414.

Very little is said in the Prefaces about the synoptic Gospels. The idea must be given up that there are four gospels and only four evangelists.[1] The Gospel is a good story and report given to the world by the apostles. The Gospel is apostolic. The Gospel can be a brief or lengthy message. It can be done by describing the works and words of Christ like the four evangelists have done. St. Peter and St. Paul give the gospel briefly when they do not tell of Christ's works but indicate what Christ does for those who believe in Him. The knowledge of the life story of Jesus is not essential nor is it the gospel. The inner testimony of the Spirit witnesses when we have received it. The three gospels do not give the essentials like John, Peter and Paul and must be evaluated much lower.[2] There are not many gospels but one Gospel and one New Testament.[3] The synoptic gospels satisfy imperfectly the criterion for apostolicity. Luther thought less of them because their emphasis was not the emphasis his religious experience had given him.

4. The Awkward Squad[4]

Four New Testament books did not satisfy Luther's criterion. Their type of religious experience was foreign to his own. This Bible was Luther's Bible and Luther's experience was to govern every part of it. Others can make their own Bible but

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[1]"Vorrhede," ibid., p. 2.

[2]"wilchs die rechten," ibid.

[3]"Vorrhede" (1522), ibid.

[4]"Awkward Squad" is not a technical term in New Testament terminology, but more descriptive or fitting designation could hardly be given. The author is indebted to Dr. E. J. Goodspeed for this designation.

this one was Luther's.[1] There may be room for conjecture as to which books should be counted in the secondary class, whether the statement in wilchs die rechten should include all the epistles of Paul in the chief books instead of the classification we have given, but there is no room for conjecture about the four books placed last in Luther's New Testament. They were never given numbers in the Index like the other twenty-three books,[2] and in 1522 there was a blank space between the numbered and numberless books. Few marginal notes were given them in the first editions. The Preface to Hebrews, the first of these four books, begins:

> Bisher haben wir die rechten gewissen Heubtbücher des newen Testaments gehabt. Diese vier nachfolgende aber haben vor zeiten ein ander ansehen gehabt.

Hebrews satisfied Luther's criterion for apostolicity. But there were some things that were objectionable and put together they were greater than his primary standard. It discusses Christ's priesthood in a masterful and thorough way and interprets the Old Testament well. But it is not apostolic. It is not St. Paul's or any other apostle's. The writer was an able and learned man and experienced in faith and the scriptures but he does not lay the foundation of faith. That is the work of the apostles. St. Paul testifies that he has his Gospel from God Himself but this one builds on foundations laid by others. He is a disciple of the apostles to whom this doctrine has come. Perhaps it was long after the apostles.

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[1] "Vorspruch" (1530), W. A. D. B., Bd. 6, p. 1.

[2] "Die Bücher des newen testaments" (1522-46), ibid., p.13.

[3] "Vorrhede auff die Epistel zu den Abreern" (1522), ibid., Bd. 7, p. 345.

Tradition also carries weight in Luther's judgment. This book and the following had a different reputation in ancient times.

The chief objection to Hebrews is no doubt that it does not agree with Paul. All the New Testament must agree with Paul. Hebrews is not orthodox because it forbids and denies sinners repentance after baptism. Luther refused to make a gloss over it because it is so clear. The passage defies any other interpretation.

The teaching of Hebrews should be accepted with all honor though it is impure and not on the same level as the apostolic books.

Similar standards were used by Luther in his judgments on the Old Testament Apocryphal books. They too were without numbers in the index. The opinions of the Fathers about the books of The Wisdom of Solomon[1] and Jesus Sirach[2] is of considerable weight. Authorship must also be reckoned with in judging canonicity. Solomon's Wisdom is not written by Solomon.[3] II Maccabees also fails because of a hard knot which cannot be reconciled with scriptural teaching.[4] There must be levels of evaluation. Wisdom of Solomon is a "piece of wood."[5] Some parts of Daniel and Esther not found in Hebrew are put in special

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[1]"Luther's Prefaces to the Old Testament Apocryphal Books" (Wisdom of Solomon), Luthers Werke (Erlangen 1854, vol. 63), trans. George F. Hall, Augustana Quarterly, XIII, (1934), p. 197.

[2]"Preface to Jesus Sirach" (1530), ibid., p. 202.

[3]"Preface to Wisdom of Solomon" (1529) ibid., p. 197.

[4]"Preface to II Maccabees" (1530), ibid., p. 206.

[5]Supra., Note 4.

gardens or beds so that they will not be destroyed because they contain much good.[1] III and IV Ezra have nothing in them that are even equal to Aesop or yet inferior books. They are not worth translating![2] II Maccabees is included in the selection because it contains the beautiful story of the seven martyred Maccabees and other selections.[3]

The Wisdom of Solomon is orthodox in its teaching, stressing the holy Word of God.[4] Baruch also teaches the right things because it inculcates the law of Moses against idolatry.[5] I Maccabees should really be counted as holy scripture because it is necessary for the understanding of Daniel II.[6]

James was rejected by the ancients.[7] It cannot be apostolic historically or doctrinally. Historically it seems to have been written by some good pious man, who took some sayings of the apostle's disciples and threw them on paper. It quotes I Peter when in point of time St. James was put to death by Herod in Jerusalem before St. Peter. So it seems that he came long after Saints Peter and Paul. The cardinal failure of James was that it did not agree with Paul. A gloss on these difficult passages cannot help the situation. It simply cannot be apostolic and disagree with Paul. It fails miserably to

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[1]"Preface to Parts of Esther and Daniel" (1530), ibid., pp. 206-207.

[2]"Preface to Baruch" (1530), ibid., pp. 203-204.

[3]Supra, p. 24, n. 5.

[4]"Preface to Wisdom of Solomon" (1529), ibid., op. cit., p. 199.

[5]"Preface to Baruch" (1530), ibid., p. 203.

[6]"Preface to I Maccabees" (1530), ibid., p. 204.

[7]"Vorrhede auff die Episteln Sanct Jacobi unnd Judas" (1522), W.A.D.B., Bd. 7, p. 384.

measure up to Luther's cardinal principle. It does not mention once the passion, resurrection, or the spirit of Christ. It is not apostolic because it does not teach Christ. It is an epistle of straw compared to the chief books.[1]

But there is good in James though it is not one of the chief books. It sets up no doctrine of men and lays great stress upon God's law. He tries to guard against those who relied on faith without works, and is unequal to the task. He tries to accomplish this by insisting on the law while the apostles incite to love. He fails in spirit, thought, and words rending scripture and resisting Paul and all scripture. But anyone can evaluate him as he pleases. There are many good sayings in it. What is one book against so many![2]

The historical test for canonicity was also used by Luther in evaluating the Old Testament apocrypha. Judith did not agree with history. If it did the book could be rightly included in scripture.[3] II Maccabees does not agree with the account of the first book.[4] Baruch was very nearly left out with III and IV Ezra because the chronology did not harmonize with history.[5]

Jude is an extract or copy of II Peter. It is not original.[6] Neither is it apostolic because it sounds late

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[1]"wilchs die rechten und Edlisten bucher des newen testaments sind" (1522), ibid., Bd. 6, p. 10.

[2]This statement deleted in the next edition.

[3]"Preface to Judith" (1530), A. Q., p. 195.

[4]"Preface to II Maccabees" (1530), ibid., p. 206.

[5]"Preface to Baruch" (1530), ibid., p. 204.

[6]"Vorrhede auff die Episteln Sanct Jacobi unnd Judas" (1522), W.A.D.B., Bd. 7, p. 387.

speaking of the apostles as one who came long after them. His relation to scripture is not good quoting outside of the orthodox canon. Jude's authorship is an impossibility because Jude, according to tradition, went to Persia and could not write Greek. The ancient fathers were not favorable to it. It is plainly of a lower level of inspiration. It is doch ein unnotige Epistel unter die hewbt bucher zu rechen. It contains enough good to permit its presence in the New Testament.

Luther wrote two prefaces to the Revelation of John. Though the first one is the stronger, his attitude did not change a great deal toward the book. There is no room for assuming that he was ready in his later years to consider it equal to the better books of the New Testament. In 1522 his opinion as to its canonicity are as follows. He misses more than one thing in the book which makes him hold it to be neither apostolic nor prophetic.[1] Because it deals so out and out with visions he thinks the same of it as he did of the Fourth book of Esdras. He cannot see that the Holy Spirit could have produced it. Inspiration in the prophets, apostles, and Christ speaks in clear plain words. The book thinks too highly of itself. How can one be blessed and keep its sayings when no one knows what they mean? Jerome evaluated it highly but in general the Fathers were against the canonicity of the book. The book fails in Luther's estimation because it failed to agree with his religious experience. His spirit could not fit itself into it. It fails to satisfy the cardinal principle. Christ is not known or taught in it. An apostle is obligated to do that.

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[1]"Vorrhede auff die offinbarung Sanct Johannis" (1522), ibid., p. 404.

Luther will stick to the books that give him Christ clearly and purely. That fits in with his religious experience.

In 1530 Luther wrote a second and longer preface. He begins with a discussion of the different kinds of prophecy in scripture.[1] The type of prophecy in Revelation has not yet come to profit in Christendom. There is no sure interpretation of it. It is eine verborgene, stumme weissagung. Many of the ancient Fathers were of the opinion that it was not the work of the apostle. That question is left open so that no one may be compelled to hold it for the work of St. John, or of whoever else he may desire. This interpretation is made to give other higher minds something to think about. Luther favors the historical (as he terms it) interpretation of the book. From this interpretation Christians can be comforted.

I Maccabees was interpreted similarly. Though not equal to other books in scripture it could be of benefit when interpreted to fit the present situation. Antiochus becomes a figure of Anti-Christ. From this book Christians learn to be unafraid when such things occur and to take comfort that God's cause eventually triumphs.[2]

5. Summary

For Luther the New Testament was apostolic. This apostolicity made itself evident in three definite ways. First:- Its contents must bear witness to its apostolicity. Paul is the norm and to be apostolic it must agree with his writings. It

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[1] "Vorrede auff die offenbarung Sanct Johannis" (1530), ibid., pp. 406-7.

[2] "Preface to I Maccabees" (1530), A. Q., p. 205.

must also teach Christ as Paul taught Christ. It must be original and not a copy of someone else's letter. It must not quote from outside the canon of scripture. It should have humility and not consider itself the most important book in scripture. It should speak clearly so that Christendom has benefit of its teaching. If all these things are right, it commends itself to the subjective opinions of Christians.

Secondly:- It must be apostolic in authorship. But too much importance should not be placed on that because there are levels of inspiration, and merely having an apostolic author does not guarantee its apostolicity. This criterion is of minor importance in judging a book's canonicity because if the book fulfills the first it is apostolic even though the rogues of scriptural history wrote it. Thirdly:- Ancient testimony is a weighty factor. What they thought of its authenticity establishes the authorship of the book. The evaluation of the ancients is likewise important as to whether the book was considered inspired or not. But the criterion of ancient testimony was decidedly secondary and of little weight if the book failed to satisfy the first criterion.

Luther's mind worked like most minds on this matter. Subjectively, on the basis of his religious experience, he made his evaluation. Then he rationalized.

CHAPTER III

LUTHER'S INTERPRETATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

A. THE CHIEF BOOKS

John

1. Preface

No preface. Praised highly in wilchs die rechten, discussed under "Standards of Canonicity."

2. Notes.

Language.- 1:28; 1527 with variations; Spells Betharaba in the text but gives alternate spelling in the note Bethbara referring to Judges 7 with the remark ut mysterium consonet.

1:41; 1522[11]; Messiah is given equivalents in Greek, German, and Hebrew.

5:2; 1530; Defines Bethesda.

8:51; 1522; Defines Jesus use of mein wort. Das ist type.

13:16; 1541; Apostel defined.

14:16; 1530; Paraclete is defined. Also adds exhortation.

Things.- 2:6; 1530; The measure for wine. Metreta im Griechischen. Zwo Metreten machen bey uns schier ein Eimer weins.

12:5; 1530; Monetary values. Ein grossch hat zu der zeit fast 30. lawenpfennig unser Meisnisschen müntze gegolten.

Textual criticism.- 9:8; 1530; Notes that some texts add "that he was blind."

18:14-15; 1541; A verse omitted. Attributed to scribal

error in turning a page.

Paraphrase.- 1:9; 1527; Christ the light of the world.

2:4; 1527; Paraphrases with the idiom "What has that got to do with you and me?"

4:27; 1541 with variations; Paraphrased to add the significant designation to the unasked question, "Why do you talk to her, a Samaritan and a heathen?"

5:17; 1530; God worked on the sabbath and the Son does just as the Father does. Therefore Jesus is over the sabbath.

6:27; 1522[ii]; Paraphrases "work for the food which does not perish" to fit his doctrine of works.

6:62; 1522, Paraphrase in direct discourse. "If you don't like when I speak here on earth, what will it be like when I speak from heaven?"

8:25; 1522-30; Same device. "I am the Word I am speaking."

8:25; 1530; Replaces shorter note above. The text is paraphrased with the introduction, "I am your preacher." Reflects emphasis on preaching in the Lutheran movement at this period.

10:23; 1541; The situation paraphrased. They ask Jesus if he is the Christ that they might bring a charge against him. The question is prompted by false hearts.

14:22; 1541; The question is paraphrased to colloquial equivalents. Wie gehet das zu? Was sol des sein?

15:9; 1541; Luther tells the readers in paraphrase how they can have love like Christ's.

16:30; 1522; reworked 1526; Paraphrases situation. One does not need to question on that which has been previously learned.

18:29; 1541; Luther exclaims: "It is astonishing how they

can complain on such a humble good man."

18:28; 1530; The question of Pilate, "What is truth?" The note states: "This is irony! If you talk about truth your case is lost."

20:8; 1522; Belief is paraphrased to add that they believed what Magdalene had told them.

Scripture interprets itself.- 3:33; 1522 with variations; Reader referred to chapter 7.

3:34; 1522; The reader is referred to Romans 12, I Corinthians 12, and Titus 3.

4:37; 1541; "One sows, another reaps." The prophets have done the sowing according to I Peter 1 for later generations to reap.

15:24; 1522 with variations; "No sin" qualified by Ezekiel 18.

17:9; 1530; The prayer of Moses in Numbers 16 and Psalm 59:6 are given as references to understand the petition of Jesus. Das ist type.

Edification.- 1:16; 1522; The nature of grace and law. Popular theology.

4:32; 1522; The food of Jesus to do God's will is explained. Christ and the Gospel is centered in his sufferings that all the world might receive the message. The time had come to accomplish this. Popular theology.

5:27; 1522; Explains why Christ must be a son of man to judge the world. The judgment must be seen of everyone. Popular theology.

6:27; 1522-1527[11] 1st form and 2nd form 1530; The first explains that versigellt means that the Holy Ghost has been

given to Christ that one might have spiritual food. In the second form this includes all the functions of God, master, helper, judge, etc. He discusses his translation in the Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen (1530).[1]

7:22; 1522 with variations; Why circumcision on the sabbath was such a problem. The conflict of two laws. The fulfillment of the law is not in letter but in spirit. Popular theology.

8:56; 1522; How Abraham could see the day of Christ. Through faith all saints have seen him in a like manner. Popular theology.

13:34; 2 forms. (1) 1522-40ii, (2) 1541; Luther paraphrases Christ to say that I will not bother you with man laws like Moses did. The New Testament command negates all of the old. Popular theology.

14:2; 1522-40ii; Explains how a place is prepared for one in the heavenly mansions. If one is prepared his place is prepared. Luther sidesteps the predestination doctrine implications.

Comparison of Gospels.- 20:17; 1522; John, more than the other evangelists, pays heed to the spiritual interpretation. Luther compares, after this observation, the passage with Matthew 28 where Christ did not permit himself to be touched.

Paul read into all Scripture.- 7:19; 1541; Romans 8 is referred to on the impossibility of fulfilling the law.

13:34; Two forms. (1) 1522-40ii, (2) 1541. Here first form discussed; Paul is the authority for Luther's definition of the Gospel.

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[1] W.A., Bd. 30ii, 640, 22 ff.

14:31; 1541, shortened 1544; Christ alone has done the will of God for the world according to Romans 5.

16:8; 1522, revised 1541; The Pauline dictum that all is sin which is not of faith.

Allegory.- 3:8; 1530; The sausen und wehen of the wind is compared to the unity of Word and Spirit. Allegory of commentator.

6:54; 1522; This chapter is not about the sacrament but about spiritual food. That food is the faith that Christ has given his blood for mankind. Allegory of commentator.

Polemic.- 3:3; 1522; This text is clearly against free will, etc., which knows nothing of grace. Against the humanists.[1]

3. Summary

It is of interest to note that while the greatest number of notes occur in the first edition, the 1530 and 1541 editions are also very strong. Perhaps this can be explained by his sermons beginning in 1528 and continuing to 1540 on the Gospel of John.[2] While the general nature of the 1530 and 1541 editions brings a good number of additional notes, it is significant that in this case he has done considerable work on the same portions of scripture and would easily reflect the same.

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[1]Later enunciated in his "De servo arbitrio" in 1525, W.A., Bd. 18, p. 551.

[2]"Wochenpredigten über Joh. 16-20" (1528-29), W.A., Bd. 28, p. 31 ff.; "Die Predigten über Joh. 6-8" (1530), W.A., Bd. 33, p. 1; "Das xiv und xv Kapitel S. Johannis gepredigt und ausgelegt" (1538), W.A., Bd. 45, p. 465; "Auslegung des dritten und vierten Kapitels Johannis in Predigten" (1538-40), W.A., Bd. 47, p. 1 ff.; "Das xvi Kapitel S. Johannis gepredigt und ausgelegt" (1539), p. 1, and "Auslegung des ersten und zweiten Kapitels Johannis in Predigten" (1537-38), p. 538, W.A., Bd. 46.

I John

I. Preface

1522; Propaganda type. I John takes the middle road between faith without any works and works without faith.[1] It is not like James. John uses a better way. It is such a good epistle it should really follow his gospel. It has a good deal of polemic. The enemies of the gospel are the same today. Its teaching on works is valuable for Luther's movement.

2. Notes

Language.- 2:18; 1522; Widerchrist is a synonym for Endechrist, the more common designation.

2:16; 1530; Fliesches lust, augenlust, and hoffertig leben are defined.

Paraphrase.- 5:8; 1522; Das ist type. The relation between the three in one, i. e., blood, water and spirit.

Scripture interprets itself.- 5:16; 1522; The sin unto death is the sin against the Holy Ghost explained by Matthew 12.

Edification.- 5:6; 1522; Devotional. Where the spirit is, everything is true. Where it is not everything is hypocritical and false.

3. Summary

Of interest is the fact that although Luther lectured in 1527 on this book and prepared some sermons in 1533 these are not

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[1]"Vorrede auff die drey Episteln Sanct Johannis" (1522), W.A.D.B., Bd. 7, p. 326.

reflected by additional notes.[1]

Romans

1. Preface

1522; Propaganda type, also Digest;[2] Defines words law, sin, grace, faith, righteousness, flesh, and spirit to give the reader the right approach. It is evaluated as the purest Gospel. But it has been clouded by commentaries and idle talk. Popular theology Christ centered and of faith alone is stressed throughout. Some allegory is present. The unity of scripture is maintained clearing an apparent contradiction. Exhorts reader to "pray God to work taith in you." He is also warned against Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Origen, and anyone else who uses these words in a different sense. This concludes the first section.

The second section is typically digest type taking the content of the book chapter by chapter. Of interest is a slight polemic note reflecting his own experience. Allegory of the text and also of "Moses veil" is exhibited. Chapters six to eight deal with the work of faith to slay the old Adam. Predestination is explained as our becoming righteous and is taken entirely out of our hands and put in the hand of God. But this doctrine has its limits. One must follow the order of the epistle in Christian experience. Predestination is learned

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[1] "Vorlesung über den 1 Johannesbrief" (1527), W.A., Bd. 20, p. 592; "Etliche schöne Predigten aus der 1 Epistel S. Johannis Von der Liebe" (1533), W.A., Bd. 36, p. 416.

[2] "Vorrhede auff die Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Romern" W.A.D.B., Bd. 7, p. 2 ff., trans. in Holman ed., op. cit., VI, 447 ff., and Reu, op. cit., p. 205.

only under the cross. Polemic against the papacy follows this digest. Romans is also an introduction for the Old Testament. The Old Testament is to be interpreted in its light.

2. Notes

Language.- 1:31; 1530 with variations until final form 1541; Defines Unvernunfftig.

1:31; 1541; Defines and offers synonyms for störrig.

2:4; 1522 with variations; Defines langmütigkeit giving Latin and Hebrew equivalents. Also defines Gedult and Guttickeyt (so 1522. Güte 1350).

2:25; 1522; The heathen are called vorhaud by Paul because uncircumcized.

2:29; 1522; Defines Geyst and Buchstab.

5:4; 1530 with variations; Defines Erfarung.

7:15; 1522; How Thun and Volbringen are used, i. e., their connotation.

7:22; 1522; Defines ynwendigen mensch.

8:6; 1522; Defines fleyschlich gesynnet.

8:22; 1522; Engstet is like the pains of a woman in travail.

13:14; 1522-30[ii]; Defines klugheyt.

14:14; 1522: Defines gemeyn.

15:8; 1522; Equivalents of Diener.

15:28; 1530; Defines Versiegelt. Das ist type paraphrase.

Paraphrase.- 1:25; 1530; Das ist type. They have made gods out of the true God.

2:22; 1522 Revised 1541 and variations; How one can be a Gottes dieb.

3:2; 1546; On having the Gotteswort.

3:23; 1546; One cannot say, "You are my God," and yet not praise Him.

4:16; 1530; How all are of Abrahams seed.

5:11; 1522; Why they praise God.

6:3; 1522; Being buried with Christ interpreted in paraphrase.

9:35; 1522 Revised 1530; How Christ is a stumbling block. Righteousness without works.

10:5; 1522; Das ist type. The righteousness through the law explained.

11:7; 1522; Das ist type. Explanation of the election of Israel.

12:7; 1522; What man teaches.

12:20; 1522; Figure "coals of fire" expanded.

14:5; 1527[ii] Revised 1530; Das ist type. Certainty as to what is sin, etc.

14:16; 1522; The Gospel is the achatz that must not be used to injure the weak.

15:14; 1522; Das ist type. Paul is paraphrased in direct discourse to say: If you don't need my writing, I still have done my duty given me through God's grace, to teach and warn you and everyone.

15:17; 1541; Das ist type. Ich Gott diene is paraphrased to be das ich sein Priester bin.

15:20; 1530; Paul's desire to preach when the Gospel has not been made known reconciled with his message to the Romans who had the Good News already.

Scripture interprets itself.- 1:18; 1541; Chapter 3 of

the same book interprets God's anger breaking forth from heaven against the impious men.

1:17; 1530 and 1546. The latter discussed here. All righteous have been made righteous through Christ since the beginning on the basis of Christus ist gestern, heute, und in ewigkeit (Heb. 13:8). The reference is not given.

2:14; 1522; The law of Moses is Das naturlich gesetz according to Matthew 7.

3:17; 1522; Psalm 51 quoted without reference except to David. Polemic follows against work righteousness which makes God a liar.

4:10; 1522; Abraham was made righteous before he was circumcized, Genesis 15.

7:24; 1522; 'This death' is the struggle against sin substantiated by Exodus 8 where Pharoah says, "Take this death (the grasshoppers) from me."

11:29; Two forms, 1530 and 1546; Latter used here; Hebrews 6 and 10 are given as references to illustrate impenitence. The objectionable passages in Hebrews are used to illustrate his best book, Romans.

Experience.- 11:2; 1522; All those who are called God's people are not God's people. Reflects disillusioning experiences, especially the Zwickau prophets.

13:6; 1530; On paying taxes and the value of government. Reflects experiences of Peasant War.

Edification.- 1:4; 1522-45; Popular Theology. God's Spirit was given after the ascension of Christ. The function of the Spirit is to glorify Christ.

1:17; 1530 and 1546; Former discussed here; The growth

of faith. Popular theology.

1:31; 1541; The one who cannot forgive cannot be forgiven. Theological explanation of ἀσπορδος which Luther translates unverstänlich.

3:4; 1541; The certainty of God and uncertainty of man.

3:23; 1522; Popular theology. This is the hewbtstuck of all scripture that all men are sinners, etc. The reader is exhorted to learn this text well. Polemic follows against work righteousness.

3:25; 1533; The futility of sinners with the law to accomplish good works. That is done by Christ.

3:31; 1522; Faith fulfills all law. Works cannot even fulfill one title of the law.

4:3; 1522; Bible study aid. Here he shows by two examples that works are nothing.

4:19; 1522; What is the true Gottis dienst.

5:16; 1522-27[ii]; All believers have seen from eternity that they were to be saved from their weakness.

5:17; 1522; Popular theology. The erbsund from Adam.

6:12; 1522; The reader is asked to note that the holy ones have evil desires which they do not follow. Exhortation for the Christian life.

6:14; 1522; Liberty in grace.

8:1; 1522 Minor variations; The doctrine of no condemnation to the believer even though he sin.

9:28; 1530; God will not permit all men to be lost.

11:15; 1541; Why the examples of dead illustrious Jews are given the Gentiles.

11:15; 1522-30; The Jews were not judged to provide

betterment for the gentiles.

13:5; 1522; The purpose of the state. Christian life.

14:1; 1522; Exhortation for a life of love both for the weak and strong in faith. Christian life.

14:11; 1533; Christ is true God. Popular theology.

15:1; 1522^{ii}; Aid to Bible Study. This chapter talks about the weak faithed individuals in their living while the former chapter dealt with the weak in conscience.

15:8; 1541; The sum total of this epistle is that both Jews and Gentiles shall be made holy. Aid to Bible Study.

15:25; 1522; The reader is asked to note how Paul höfflich und seuberlich asks the Romans to assist in his collection for the saints in Jerusalem. Exhortation for practical Christian living.

Allegory.- 5:14; 1522; Adam and Christ as types. Typology of the text.

7:4; 1522^{ii}; The old man and his conscience compared to the marriage relation that is dissolved at death. Allegory of the text.

12:1; 1522-27^{ii}. Two forms, first discussed here. Second form appeared 1530; The many sacrifices under the law of irrational animals discarded in the one sacrifice of Christ represents that mankind is rational. Allegory of commentator. Withdrawn in 1527^{ii} in favor of note without allegory.

Polemic.- 1:21; 1522; Against the wiseheads.

1:30; Three forms. 1522-27^{ii}, 1530-40^{ii}, and 1541. First form discussed here; "Ingenious in evil" directed against kauffleuten, Juristen unnd hoff.

1:30; 1541 (third form); Against the proud and desirous

of praise.

10:6; 1522; Against work righteousness.

11:32; 1522; Against works and menschlich righteousness.

12:1; 1530 Second form; All good works, sacrifices, worship etc., without faith are unvernünfftig.

12:7; 1522; Against the revelations of the poltter geyster.

13:14; 1533; Against the holiness, vigils, fasts, etc., of the Heuchler.

14:23; 1522; This is the heubtspruch against all works without faith. The reader is warned against false glosses.

16:17; 1522; Against all menschenlere.

3. Summary

Of interest is the fact that Luther gave the majority of his attention to Romans in the first edition of 1522. This is duplicated by Galatians, also. The apparent reason is that he had already done considerable work on these books with the lectures on Romans in 1515-1516[1] and Galatians 1519.[2]

Galatians

1. Preface

1522; Digest type. Hint at historical situation which produced the book. Slightly polemic but not directly so.

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[1]Johannes Ficker, Luthers Vorlesung ueber den Roemerbrief, 1908. Also, Anfange reformatorischer Bibelauslegung, Herausgegaben von Johannes Ficker. Zweite unveränderte Auflage, Erster Band: Luthers Vorlesung über den Römerbriefe 1515-1516 (Leipzig, 1923). Trans. into German by Edward Ellwein from this text Martin Luther Vorlesung über den Römerbriefe 1515-1516 (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1928). Selections trans. in Reu, op. cit., p. 111 ff.

[2]W.A., II, 443 ff.

2. Notes

All the marginal notes in this book appear in 1522 with the exception of 6:4 appearing in 1527^{ii}.

Language.- 2:7; 1522; The heathen are called vorhaudt because uncircumcized. Same note on Romans 2:25.

Paraphrase.- 2:17; 1522; Reworked 1527^{ii}; Paraphrases how Christ can be a minister of sin.

3:19; 1522; New ending 1527^{ii}; Why a mediator is no longer necessary.

6:4; 1522-1527; Das ist type. Against spiritual pride. Replaced by polemic note against false teachers in 1527^{ii}.

Scripture interprets itself.- 2:6; 1522; Paul's defense of his apostleship strengthened by I Corinthians 3.

2:19; 1522; Paul's death to the law explained by Romans 7.

Experience.- 1:4; 1522; Also propaganda. Points out that contents is directed against self righteousness.

2:5; 1522; Reflects Luther's stand at Worms. The refusal to yield on the slightest ground.

Edification.- 3:19; 1522; Popular theology. Explanation why the Law was necessary though the covenant had been given Abraham.

5:3; 1522; Without faith nothing is possible. Popular theology.

6:16; 1522; Also propaganda against man made teaching. The occasion for the gloss is Paul's use of the law in the sense of Gospel, etc. Popular theology.

Polemic.- 5:13; 1522; Against radicals on faith.

6:4; 1527^{ii}; A description of false teachers.

3. Summary

Noteworthy is the neglect of Galatians except in 1522 and 1527ii. It indicates that with Luther's publication of the Commentary of Galatians in 1519 (Lectures 1516-1517)[1] he considered his work completed on this biblical book. The only change was to introduce a polemic note.

Ephesians

1. Preface

1522; Digest type.

2. Notes

Language.- 3:15; 1545; Who the kinder are, namely all who are created by God.

3:19; 1522; Defines the phrase "the fullness of God."

4:8; 1522; Who the imprisoned are, namely those dead in sin.

4:10; 1522; Defines phrase "all things fulfilled."

5:16; 1522-27ii; Defines phrase, a bad time. May be construed as polemic.

5:32; 1522; Definition of mystery, and names some mysteries in Christianity: Christ, the church, marriage, etc.

Paraphrase.- 2:15; 1527ii; The emnity between Jew and Gentile, its implication and cure, stated in paraphrase.

4:12; 1527ii; Das ist type. Good workers to fultill their charge.

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[1]"In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas M. Lutheri commentarius" (1519), W.A., Bd. 2, p. 436 ff. Revised in 1531 (printed 1535), W.A., Bd. 40, p. 1.

4:14; 1522; Same. The trickery of men.

6:15; 1545; Same. Propaganda tone. The feet shod with readiness to do all the Gospel requires.

Scripture interprets itself.- 3:10; 1522; How the powers of heaven and angels are made happy is illustrated by Luke 15.

3:18; 1522; Psalm 139 is an interpretation of height, depth, etc.

3:19; 1545; How love is greater than wisdom illustrated by I Corinthians 8 and John 21.

Experience.- 5:16; 1530; The difficulties of the movement. It is a 'bad' time.

Edification.- 1:10; 1522-1527^{ii}; The supremacy of Christ. Popular theology.

1:10; 1527^{ii}; Refers to Psalm 8. Christ is a HErrn, equivalent to Adonai.

1:22; 1530; Christ the head.

1:23; 1522; Christ does all things.

2:15; 1522-27^{ii}; How Christ has negated the law.

Polemic.- 5:18; 1522; Against the use of the Gospel for excess.

3. Summary

Of interest is the revision of 1527^{ii}. In 1531 Luther preached on the sixth chapter. At least one note of the 1545 edition may be a reflection of this.[1]

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[1]"Das sechste Cap. St. Pauli an die Epheser von der Christen harnisch und waffen" (1531), W.A., Bd. 34 (ii), p. 371 ff.

I Peter

1. Preface

1522; No var.; Digest type, only hint at historical situation is the statement that it is addressed to the converted heathen.[1]

2. Notes

A total of 12 notes appear in this book. Three of them appeared in 1522, the remainder in 1530. These added notes follow the general trend with polemic and edification types predominant.

Language type.- 1:4; 1530; Language type. Defines unvergenglich, unbefleckt, and unverwelcklich.

3:4; 1530; Language, defines unverruckt.

5:3; 1530; Language, defines Cleros and Pfarrvolck; slightly polemic.

Edification type.- 3:7; 1522; Edification, popular theology. Explanation why wife is weaker vessel.

3:6; 1530; Edification, popular theology. Discussing why women are of a nervous temperament.

3:21; 1530; Edification, popular theology. The covenant stipulates that God's grace will accept the believer.

5:5; 1530; Edification, popular theology. The merits of humility in resisting Satan.

Scripture interprets itself.- 2:12; 1530; I Timothy 5 and Matthew 10 interpret 'that day."

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[1]"Vorrede auff die Erst Epistel sanct Peters" (1522), op. cit., Bd. 7, p. 298.

4:8; 1522; I Corinthians 13 to interpret 'love covering a multitude of sins.'

Paraphrase.- 2:2; 1530; Also das ist type. The figure of the text, spiritual milk, paraphrased.

4:12; 1522; Paraphrase, das ist type. Sufferings are like trials to purify gold.

Polemic.- 4:15; 1530; Polemic. Explaining Fremd Ampt, polemic is directed against false and ambitious Christians, the spiritual estate's attempt to rule the world, and radical preachers and sects.

3. Summary

Of interest is the fact, that unlike the other chief books, the bulk of the notes occurs in an edition after 1522. This is explained by his work on the commentary in 1523.[1] In the second form of this commentary, as a preface the identical biblical preface is used. Thus the biblical preface influences the commentary and the commentary influences the influx of notes in the 1530 edition.

Generalizations

The chief books, especially Romans and Galatians upon which Luther had done extensive work prior to his translation, received over half of the total number of notes in the first edition of 1522. The edition of 1530 follows the general trend of that edition showing no definite interests in these books. The 1541 edition is likewise indicative of general interest.

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[1] "(Erste) Epistel S. Petri gepredigt und aussgelegt," 1st form 1523, W.A., Bd. 12, p. 249. 2nd form, Erl. Bd. 51.

Thirty-two of the one hundred seventy-two notes are devoted to language. With solitary exceptions these occur in 1522 (18) and in 1530 (9). Of these thirty-two notes twenty-three are devoted to definitions of words, two explain phrases, three provide synonyms in colloquial German, two give the ancient language originals, one explains a figure of speech, and another discusses a spelling.

Only two notes are devoted to the explanation of things. One is concerned with a measure for wine and another with the value of a coin.

The two notes on textual matters note omissions from the text. On one a scribal error of the eye in turning the page is supposed.

Forty-two notes use the explanatory device of paraphrase. Twenty-two of these are direct paraphrases of the text. Three paraphrase into popular idioms not permitted by the text in translation. Five put indirect discourse into direct discourse. Four serve to explain the situation and its implications. Six are plainly propaganda for Luther's doctrines. Two have an element of polemic. Paraphrase appears in all the editions. Twenty of the forty-two paraphrase notes are found in the first edition.

Thirteen of the twenty notes exhibiting the principle that scripture interprets itself are from the first edition. Six refer to the Old Testament, three read in Paul, and three are cross references within Paul. Two times Hebrews is read into Romans. (In one instance the objectionable passages in Hebrews are used to interpret the book he considered to be the best.) Matthew is read in two times, and once Luke. John is read in

once and there is one cross reference within John. I Peter is read in once.

The largest number of notes are devoted to the general classification of edification. Forty-three notes appear in all, twenty-nine of them the first edition. Thirty-one of these notes exhibit popular theology, seven are exhortations for the Christian life, four are Bible Study aids and two are devotional.

Five notes reflect Luther's personal experiences. Three of 1522 reflect his experience of the futility of work, righteousness,[1] his stand at Worms, and the bitter experiences with the radicals and Zwickau Prophets.[2] Two notes in 1530 reflect the Peasant War[3] and his frequent pessimism.

Luther broke with the allegorical method of interpretation and the manifold sense of scripture about 1517. His lectures on Seven Penitential Psalms[4] are the first to show his freedom from that method of interpreting the text. However he continued to practise a controlled allegory. This is illustrated in the chief books. Five examples of allegory are evident. Three of these are from the first edition, the remaining ones from the editions of 1522[ii] and 1530. Two of these five are

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[1]"Von den guten Werken" (1520), W.A., Bd. 6, p. 196 ff.

[2]"Eine treue Vermahnung zu allen Christen, sich zu hüten vor Aufruhr und Empörung" (1522), W.A., Bd. 8, p. 670 ff.

[3]"Von weltlicher Oberkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam Schuldig sei" (1523), W.A., Bd. 11, p. 229; "Wider die himmlischen Propheten" (1525), W.A., Bd. 18, p. 37; "Ermahnung zum Frieden auf die zwölf Artikel der Bauerschaft in Schwaben" (1525), W.A., Bd. 18, p. 279; "Wider die räuberischen und mörderischen Rotten der Bauern" (1525), W.A., Bd. 18, p. 344; "Ein Sendbrief von dem harten Buchlein wider die Bauern" (1525), W.A., Bd. 18, p. 375.

[4]"Die sieben Busspsalmen," Erste Bearbeitung (1517), W.A., Bd. 1, p. 154; "Zweite Bearbeitung" (1525), W.A., Bd. 18, p. 467.

explanations of allegories or types in the text; the other three are allegories of the commentator. One of these latter is withdrawn in 1527[ii] and a note without allegory takes its place. One allegorical note was added in 1530, allegory of the commentator.

Fourteen polemic notes are found in this section. Ten of these appeared in the first edition. In six instances it was directed against work-righteousness, three times against the sects, two times against the 'wiseheads,' and individual notes are directed against gospel excess, false teachers and contemporary evils.

The unity of scripture is shown in five notes, four reading Paul into scripture and one comparing John with the other gospels.

Of interest is the relationship between the occurrence of interpretative materials in the New Testament and Luther's exegetical work. The notes on John (1530 and 1541) seem to be influenced by his work on John from 1528-40, his work on I John in 1527 and 1533 do not influence his biblical notes. Few notes are added to Romans and Galatians after the first edition because he had lectured on both of these books before the first edition, and the 1545 edition of Ephesians seems to be influenced by a sermon of 1531. I Peter shows clearly the biblical interpretation materials influencing the commentary (a direct copy of the introduction is used), and in turn the commentary influencing the notes.

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[1]Cf. Julius Boehmer, "Unsere Lutherbibel im Kampfe mit dem Fremdworte," op. cit., p. 44.

B. THE SECONDARY BOOKS

Matthew

1. Preface

No preface is provided for the Gospel of Matthew.

2. Notes

Language.- 2:1; 1522, shortened 1541; Luther translates die Weisen which follows the Old German translation. This note explains that they were Naturkündige and Priester. The note says that they were Magos. Perhaps a justification for his translation.

5:22; 1522 short form, 1541 long form; Racha defined.[1] It is a rude word expressing anger and hatred. An attempt is made to give its origins, but Luther does not seem convinced.

5:47; 1522; Who the Publicans were, i. e., godless heathen.

8:14; 1541; Fiber is Latin (as used in the text) which means den Ritten in German.

9:2; 1541; Defines Gichtbrüchig.

21:9; 1522; Defines Hosianna.

24:28; 1522; Points out that wo eyn asz ist, etc., is a proverb and he explains its application.

26:49; 1530; Gegrüsset, as in the text, is bad German. We greet, Luther continues, 'Good evening,' etc., in German.

Things.- 3:4; 1522-26; Grasshoppers were used as food according to Jerome. This is not in Luther's commentary but is

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[1]Cf. Julius Boehmer, "Unsere Lutherbibel im Kampfe mit dem Fremdworte," op. cit., p. 44.

found in Lyra's Biblia cum glossa ordiniaria and Erasmus Annotations s.17.

9:1; 1522; His city was Capernaum.

14:1; 1522; How Judea was governed, the tetrarchs, etc.

14:25; 1522; How the night was divided in four watches of three hours each.

17:27; 1530; Monetary; The value of a stater, one half gulden.

26:52; 1522; The sword was not ordinarily used by the disciples.

26:53; 1522; A legion is about six thousand men.

27:33; 1530; Golgotha in German is Schuddelstet and is so named because of the presence of skulls of victims.

28:1; 1522; The Hebrew way of counting the beginning of the day on the preceding evening.

Characters.- 10:3; 1530; Lebbeus is the pious Judas.

23:35; 1522; The two names of Barachias.

Paraphrase.- 5:19; 1522 (kleynest heyssen); Das ist type.

5:19; 1522 (gross heyssen); Das ist type.

8:9; 1522; Das ist type; "If my words are so powerful, how much greater are yours?"

9:16; 2 forms, 1522, shortened in 1541; Das ist paraphrase content.

10:14; 1522; Why they should shake the dust off their shoes at the unrepentant.

10:23; 1522; Paraphrases in direct discourse. On persecution.

15:5; 1541; Paraphrases excuses of child when offering

that which should have been given to support the parents, "Should you desire that which I must offer?" 23:25; 1530-40; revised 1541; Paraphrases Christ's words with the introduction wil sagen, etc. The cleansing of the outside of the cup.

24:20; 1522; Why the winter and sabbath are undesirable for flight.

24:34; 1530; Das ist type. Direct discourse paraphrase of text. Fulfillment during the present age promised by Christ's eschatological discourse.

26:14; first form 1530; Direct discourse. Jesus says, "Let it be done! It is the last that she can give me because I shall soon die."

~~26:29; 1522~~; Das ist type; "No longer can we continue our happy walk together and this will be our farewell." Direct discourse.

27:16; 1541; Matthew desires to shield Pilate from the guilt of murder. The Jews insist on Jesus death. Paraphrases situation.

Scripture interprets itself.- 1:25; 1522[11]; Luther argues for the perpetual virginity of Mary on the basis of the raven in Genesis 8 of which it is not recorded that it returned. Neither must one suppose that because scripture states that Joseph did not know Mary carnally before Jesus was born, that he became her true husband afterwards. An ingenious interpretation to establish a doctrine never repudiated by Lutheranism.[1]

16:28; 1522; This is interpreted by John 8, 11, and 12

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[1]Cf. "Formula of Concord," The Book of Concord, ed. H. E. Jacobs (Philadelphia: General Council Publishing Board, 1916), p. 628.

which speak of eternal life for the believer.

19:17; 1522; "Why do you call me good?" is explained by John 7, "My teaching is not mine." He is speaking according to his humanity, says Luther.

Comparison of Gospels.- 1:4 (or 7); 1522; Comparison of geneologies in Luke. Attempt to make them agree by stating that Matthew traces it bhrough Solomon and Luke traces the descent through Nathan, Solomon's brother. The law in Deuteronomy 25 about the marriage of widows, etc., is given in support.

12:32; 1522; Mark says this also, notes Luther.

27:17; 1541; After paraphrasing Pilate's attitude the reader is referred to Mark 15.

27:22; 1541; John uses the same words, notes Luther.

Edification.- 5:9; 1522; Devotional; Who the peacemakers are. They make peace for one another like Christ has made peace for us with God.

5:25; 1522[ii]; Practical application for the Christian life. Both parties in a quarrel should willingly agree.

5:34; 1522; Practical application. All oaths, etc., are here forbidden when used for man-made purposes but permissible when for God's glory.

5:39; 1522; The place of authorities in enforcing order. The individual should not rashly seek justice. Practical application.

6:34; 1522; The Plage of each day is the daily work. It is enough that we have daily work and there is no need for further worry. Practical application.

7:1; 1522; Judgment belongs to God. The balck in the judge's eye is the usurping of the right from God.

8:2; 1522; Popular theology; Faith does not know. It only trusts in God's grace.

8:19; 1522; Some will not follow Christ if they know where it will lead them. The background of Christ's saying.

9:13; 1522-40; Popular theology. Christ's eating with sinners and the acceptable offering before God.

9:15; 1522-40, with variations; Popular theology. Why the disciples did not need to fast when Christ was present. A discussion on the two kinds of suffering, self inflicted and the Christian's cross.

11:12; 1522; Popular theology. The action of the conscience when it receives the kingdom.

11:28; 1522; Devotional. The yoke is easy because of the Gospel.

12:32; 1522-40[ii]; What the sin against the Holy Spirit is. Popular theology.

13:12; 1522; Popular theology. The Word of God and its effects when understood and not understood.

13:52; 1530; Practical application. What the kingdom of heaven demands.

15:13; 1522; Popular theology; All works not planted by God are sin.

18:20; 1530; The meaning of gathering in Jesus name. Popular theology. On Christ's command and in His honor are the conditions. Against Zwingli's conception of the Lord's Supper as an <u>agape</u> and fellowship meal. Polemic element not present.

19:19; 1522; The failure of the young man to reach perfection. No rich one can find this perfection. Popular theology.

21:44; 1522; All must meet Christ for better or worse. Popular theology.

23:13; 1522; Popular theology. How man-made teaching closes the doors of the kingdom.

23:39; 1522-27[ii]; Popular theology. The judgment on the Jews.

26:52; 1522, with variations; Practical application. The sword is needed to punish those who take to the sword.

Experience.- 2:6; 1522 shortened in 1541 to eliminate allegory; Discussed under Allegory. Reflects the situation described above. He has Christ. His movement is little in the eyes of the world but great before God.

2:18; 1522 with variations; It always looks bad for Christendom. Reflects the doubts in his own mind about the outcome of his cause. Christendom must be like a child to succeed.

17:26; 1522; The Christian is the lord of all yet the slave of all. Reflects his treatise on Christian Liberty.[1]

Old and New Testament.- 1:2; 1522; Christ in the Old Testament. Abraham and David were told about Christ.

1:19; 1522; Two kinds of law in the Old Testament. Joseph follows the law of love to which temporal laws were subject. Later expressed more fully in the preface to the Old Testament[2] (1523).

3:3; 1541; The certain sign of the Messiah's coming to the Jews was the Baptist's preaching. Old Testament prophecy is fulfilled in the New Testament, the principle expressed.

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[1]Op. cit.

[2]Erlangen Ed., op. cit., lxiii, 7 ff. Trans. in Holman ed., op. cit., vi, 3 67 ff.

8:4; 1522-40; Moses' injunction and Christ's obedience of it.

12:8; Two forms, (1) 1522-40, (2) 1541; (1) The law of love is over God's temporal laws. (2) In Christ the law is abrogated. This note illustrates the theological trend of 1541.

13:52; 1522; The Old and New Testament are the law and gospel respectively.

16:3; 1522; According to Isaiah 35 Christ was to do wonders.

19:8; 1522; What the two kinds of law do. Some <u>leren</u> and some <u>weren</u>, (modern spelling <u>wehren</u>).

<u>Paul read into all scripture</u>.- 3:15; 1522, revised 1541; How all righteousness is fulfilled.

8:11; 1522; Reads in salvation of Gentiles according to Romans 9.

9:13; 1522-40, revised 1541; Christ came not to call the righteous but sinners. All men are sinners (Romans 3) and this is Christ's purpose in his advent (I Timothy 1).

13:31; 1522; The language in this note parallels in ideas I Corinthians 1:18, i.e., the gospel is a despised message but yet is the power of God.

26:10; 1522; Faith alone performs a good work.

<u>Allegory</u>.- 2:6; 1522, shortened 1541; Bethelem means Christendom, despised by the world but great in God's sight because Christ is there. The allegory is removed when the note is revised in 1541.

5:29; 1522; Spiritual interpretation of tearing out the eye that offends.

7:6; (three notes) 1522; (1) The holy thing is the Word

of God. (2) The dogs are the despisers of the Word. (3) The pig is the individual sleeping in the sins of fleshly lusts.

7:24; 1522; The foundation of the house that stands in Christ. The building is faith which resists all the winds of hell. Good works without faith are like the foolish virgins without oil. Refers to Romans 3 and Acts 15.

8:21; 1522; the one who desired to be a disciple but wished to bury his parent first, represents the excuse of good works for refusing to follow the Gospel.

9:23; (1) 1522-40[ii], short form, (2) 1541, longer and revised; (1) The flutists at the funeral are the false teachers. (2) When the corpse was to be buried, like present day custom, men praised and sang about the dead. It means that death testifies to and fulfills the law.

11:11; 1522; The least is Christ. This interpretation was also given by Erasmus, Annotations s.41.

13:33; 1522; Yeast means the Word that renews mankind.

13:44; 1522; The hidden treasure and the pearl are the Gospel which brings joy.

16:18; 1522; Peter means a stone. All Christians are petri if they confess as Peter does. This confession is the rock that all petri build upon and the congregation is also built on this confession.

16:19; 1522; The gates of hell are all the enemies of the Christian, namely, sin, death, hell, worldly wisdom, power, etc.

19:12; 1522; Spiritual interpretation of Eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven.

20:22; 1522; The cup is suffering.

22:12; 1522; The wedding garment is faith which is woven

with holy works and taken on in faith.

23:24; 1522; Straining at the gnat is described as making the conscience sensitive in little things and missing the great things. Das ist paraphrase type.

25:1; 1522; The lamps without oil are good works without faith. No one can give another of his oil. Each must have faith for himself.

25:14; 1522; The centner are the commands in God's word which, when followed, multiphy and teach others. Some receive more than others.

26:14; first form 1522-27[11]; The burial of Christ is fulfilled when the gospel is preached to the whole world and the old Adam is buried in Christ.

Theology.- 27:51; 1541; The precise point of Christ's glorification. Iuxta illud, Et erit requies eius gloria.

Polemic.- 5:1; 1530; True Christianity according to the Sermon on the Mount is in humility, not worldly power.[1]

5:4; 1522 with variations; The teaching of Christ versus the teaching of the world.

5:13; 1522; Saltless salt are the teachers of men's laws who have left God's word.

5:19; 1522; The papist teaching that Christ does not here command but only speaks.

10:9; 1530 with variations in 1533; Against the greed of the ecclesiasts.

11:25; 1530; The Gospel and faith are hidden for the wise and powerful ones.

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[1]"Dass weltliche Oberkeit den Wiedertäufern mit leiblicher Strafe zu wehren schuldig sei, Etlicher Bedenken zu Wittenberg" (1536), W.A., Bd. 50, p. 6.

15:5; Three forms, 1522-27; Here (1) Corban still practised in the church under the canon law. Quod semel est Deo dicatum from the canon laws, Decretum Gratiani; 2 part, Causa xii, quaestio II, Cap. 3: quidquid semel fuerit consecratum, sanctum sanctorum Domino erit, et ad ius pertinebit sacerdotum, etc.

21:31; 1541; Against the proud holy ones.

23:2; 1522 with variations; When one teaches more than Moses, he is no longer in Moses seat but is teaching menschenlere.

24:15; 1522; The abomination of desolation is the papacy and its outward holiness. A forerunner of the later interpretation of Revelation and I Maccabees.

24:23; 1522 with variations; Against the sects and orders which teach work doctrines.

3. Summary

Of particular interest is the large amount of controlled allegory in the 1522 edition. Several of these notes were later revised.

Of interest is the fact that his only exegetical work upon the Gospel of Matthew prior to the first edition[1] has no influence on the notes. That section is without any marginal comments. Slight influence may be traced from his sermons of 1528-29[2] and

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[1] "Auslegung und Deutung des heil. Vaterunsers" (1518), W.A., Bd. 9, p. 122; "Auslegung deutsch des Vaterunsers für die einfältigen Laien" (1519), W.A., Bd. 2, p. 74; "Eine kurze Form, das Paternoster zu verstehen und zu beten" (1519), p. 9, and "Eine kurze und gute Auslegung das Paternosters vor sich und hinter sich" (1519), W.A., Bd. 6, p. 20 ff.

[2] "Wochenpredigten über Matth. 11-15" (1528-29), W.A., Bd. 28, p. 1 ff.

the later sermons prior to 1541.[1] However, the notes from 5:1 and on are reflected in his later work on the Sermon on the Mount.[2]

Mark

1. Preface

No preface is provided for Mark.

2. Notes

Language.- 7:11; three different forms 1522, 1530 and 1541; (1) 1522; Gives the Hebrew meaning of Corban and the force of its use. (2) 1530; A short note of three words saying "Corban means an offering"; (3) 1541; Paraphrases the situation after explaining the word.

> Lieber Vater, ich gebe dirs gerne. Aber es ist Corban. Ich lege es besser an das ichs Gott gebe, denn dir. Und hilfft dich auch besser.

Textual criticism.- 15:25; 1530; Literary type paraphrase; Suggests scribal error of six for three. Motive: Harmonization of gospel accounts.

Things.- 6:40; 1522; How the companies were seated: ten long and five wide.

14:5; 1530 Monetary; Value given in German money. One grosschen equivalent to thirty lawenpfennig or a third of a German grosschen.

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[1] "Wochenpredigten über Math. 5-7" (1530-32), W.A., Bd. 32, p. 299; "Annotationes in aliquot capita Matthaei" (1538), W.A., Bd. 38, p. 443; "Matthäus Kapitel 18-24 in Predigten ausgelegt" (1537-40), W.A., Bd. 47, p. 232.

[2] W.A., Bd. 32, 301, 4 ff., 382, 5 ff., 374, 19 ff., 394, 16 ff., 402, 12 ff. This is the opinion of O. Albrecht, W.A.D.B., VI, 539.

Characters.- 2:26; 1522; An attempt to harmonize scriptural accounts. Abiathar is the son of Abimelech. The incident occurred during the priesthood of Abimelech. Both go according to the same name. This interpretation is also given by the Fathers.

3:23; Two forms 1522^{ii}, 1526. Final form 1527^{ii}; Minor variations; (1) 1522^{ii}; Analysis of name Beel (a man) and Zebub (a fliege) combination. The Jewish prince of devils. (2) 1526; King of fliers. The devil permits himself to be scorned by him in his extreme show of piety.

Paraphrase.- 7:23; 1530; Das ist type. Unvernunfft is described as the conduct of the bawer kundig and proud toward their neighbors.

8:25; 1541; Das ist type; Puts in direct discourse what Jesus might have asked him, "Wie sihestu nu."

10:21; 1530; Das ist type; Paraphrase in direct discourse what is wrong with the young man. One thing included everything.

15:9; 1541; The words of Pilate are paraphrased into direct discourse. Matthew 27 is indicated as a parallel reference. Motive: Harmonization of gospel accounts.

Allegory.- 2:26; 1522; In Hebrew schawbrott means bread that is always before the eyes. God's word should always be before our eyes. Psalm 23 is indicated to substantiate this interpretation.

3:17; 1522^{ii} gives Hebrews, 1524, 1527^{ii}; Paraphrase das ist type. Spelling Bnehargem[1]; They are called the sons of thunder because John was to write das rechte Evangelium, which is

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[1]For discussion on this point cf. D.B., Bd. 6, p. 549, quoting Luther on the presence of g instead of spelling Bne-Har Em as in Hebrew.

powerful preaching that frightens everyone and makes the earth fruitful.

8:24; 1541; The newly cured blind man sees men like trees. In the beginning of the Christ known life, one sees weakly but grows stronger and more certain. Perhaps a reflection of Luther's own development of conviction in the Reformation.

9:49; 1522; The spiritual interpretation of all sacrifices being salted and some burned. The salt and fire is the gospel. Men crucify themselves to become acceptable offerings (Rom. 12). Slight polemic touch in statement that the gospel destroys the teachings of men, etc.

Experience.- 3:21; 1530; Reflects accusation that the Reformer is becoming insane from too much work, etc.

10:30; 1522; Anticipation of persecution following Diet of Worms.

Edification.- 6:52; 1522; Das ist type paraphrase; Devotional: Why they did not understand at that time.

7:2; 1522; Popular theology: What the law called holy.

Polemic.- 1:22; 1522; Against the lumpenprediger.

6:12; 1530; Against the sacrament of extreme unction.[1] The sacrament could be made better from Magdalene's anointing in Matthew 26. The oil in this passage is for healing the sick.

3. Summary

Of special interest is the controlled allegory and spiritual interpretation. The attempts to harmonize the gospel accounts, to the extent of suggesting a textual problem, is evident.

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[1] Cf. "De Captivitate Babylonica ecclesia praeludium" (1520), W.A., Bd. 6, p. 484 ff.

Luke

1. Preface

No preface is provided for the Gospel of Luke.

2. Notes

Language.- 1:28; 1530; Gebenedeite is a Latin word used by Luther in his translation. In this note he gives the German equivalent. It indicates, besides desire to make his translation meaningful to the ordinary German folks, a fondness for this Latin expression freighted with many memories of liturgical use, etc.

1:42; 1530; The same word appears again with its German equivalent in the gloss.

3:14; 1522; Definition of gewalt and unrecht.

16:9; 1522; Mammon, in the original Hebrew, is defined as riches.

18:14; 1543; Indicates a Hebraism in the literary device of expressing a truth negatively.

24:13; 1541; Equivalents for Hebrew village name Emmahus.

Things.- 2:1; Three forms 1522-27[ii], 1530-40[ii], and 1541; Explanation of the method of taxing.

6:1; 1522[ii]; Comparison of Afftersabbath with contemporary German custom. Matthew 28 given as parallel in scripture.

7:38; 1530; Das ist paraphrase literary type. Salben is defined as köstlichen wasser.

13:3; 1541; Jewish beliefs relative to prosperity and punishment.

19:4; 1522; This tree is translated wilden feygen in

1522. This was changed in 1524 to <u>maulber baum.</u> The explanation is offered that συκάμινος is blackberry and the same kind of tree as mentioned in Luke 17:6. συκομοραία is an Egyptian fig tree and not a wild fig. It has fruit like figs and leaves like the mulberry. The reader is referred to Athenaeus, Book 2, a learned Greek grammarian ca.230, who wrote a book entitled <u>Deipnosophistae</u>, originally in fifteen books.

22:52; 1530; The duties of the <u>Heubt leuten</u> or temple police.

<u>Paraphrase</u>.- 2:29; 1522; Simeon's song is paraphrased, "Now I will gladly die." <u>Das ist</u> type.

4:22; 1541; The situation is paraphrased: "How does it happen that Joseph's son can teach and preach, that poor carpenter"!

6:40; 1530 with variations; <u>Das ist</u> type; The disciple when imitating the master does right.

9:31; 1530; <u>Das ist</u> type; Meaning of <u>ausgang</u> as indicating the kind of death he would have.

10:36; 1522; Who our neighbor is.

12:49; 1522; Paraphrases Christ's attitude, why he desired to put the world on fire and why he must wait.

12:56; 1522; Paraphrases: If you understand nature, why can't you see your own faults.

13:33; 1541; Explanation in direct discourse why Christ kept moving. It was not because of Herod but because of the nature of his mission.

18:5; 1530; <u>Das ist</u> type; Paraphrases annoyance of the judge at her persistence as his reason for helping the widow.

21:19; 1530; <u>Das ist</u> type; Paraphrases in negative what

is said by the text positively.

22:51; 1522; Paraphrases Jesus command not to use the sword.

Comparison of gospels.- 3:24; 1522; Geneaology list. Philo and Josephus write of these who were left out by Matthew.

Scripture interprets itself.- 18:14; 1543; (Also discussed under language and counted in that class); To illustrate this Hebraism of negative statement Luther quotes Psalms 118 and Matthew 21.

18:22; 1530; Das ist type of paraphrase. Refers to Matthew 19 for "one thing you are lacking" and to Luke 12 for the injunction to sell all.

Edification.- 1:77; 1533; Popular Theology. Salvation by faith.

1:78; 1522; Popular Theology. Ascension.

6:35; 1541; Devotional. Only a Christian can love his enemies.

9:51; 1522; Aid to Bible Study; Luke here takes up Christ's journey to Jerusalem.

12:33; 1522; Popular Theology; A Christian's attitude toward worldly goods.

14:33; 1522; Devotional. The sacrifice of everything for Christ.

16:11; 1522; Exhortation. The use of money.

17:10; 1522; Popular Theology. The uselessness of works for salvation.

17:21; 1522; Das ist paraphrase type. Popular Theology. What the Kingdom of God is.

22:16; 1541; Aid to Bible Study. Christ shows his

disciples that he is about to die.

Old and New Testament.- 21:24; 1522; Prophecy fulfilled in New Testament. Destruction of Jerusalem according to Haggai 1.

Allegory.- 13:24; 1522; Those who are not permitted to enter are the individuals who rely on works.

22:38; 1522; The sword is interpreted spiritually as the Word of God; A das ist paraphrase.

Paul read into all scripture.- 1:30; 1530; Das ist type of paraphrase; 'Found grace' is interpreted that you have a gracious God.

2:14; 1522; God is well pleased with the sinners who accept His grace with thanks and joy.

12:33; 1530; Interpreted by I Corinthians 7.

Polemic.- 16:29; 1522; Forbids superstitious belief in hobgoblins and appearances of the dead, Volcksreligion.[1]

3. Summary

A writing and disputation prior to the 1522 and 1541 editions seems not to have influenced the interpretative apparatus[2] of the Gospel of Luke.

Acts

1. Preface

1533; Luther planned a book in 1530 on de loco iustifica-

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[1]Compare his remarks against astrology, etc., in "Tischreden" (1533), W.A.Tisch., Bd. 1, #678, p. 322.

[2]"Das Magnificat verdeutschet und ausgelegt" (1521), W.A., Bd. 7, p. 538; and "Die Disputation über Lukas 7.47" (1535), W.A., Bd. 39 (i), p. 127 ff.

tionis and in connection with it wrote this preface for the complete Bible of 1534;[1] Polemic type and purpose for the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Acts is a commentary on St. Paul, giving examples of the working of the doctrine among gentiles.[2] The purpose of the book:[3]

> Und man kann mit diesem buch, nach dieser weise, den widdersachern das maul gar meisterlich und geweltiglich stopffen. Welche uns auff Gesetz und unser werck weisen, und iren thörichten unverstand offenbaren fur aller welt.

2. Notes

The notes show but a casual interest until this preface appears. The four notes of 1522 deal with language and things. The ten notes of 1530 are miscellaneous. Twenty-three notes appear in 1533, nineteen polemic. In 1539 one note was added on language. Seven notes appear in 1541 of a total of sixteen for the edition, analysing theologically Paul's conversion for the doctrine of the order of salvation. An additional note of this type was added in 1543.

Language.- 3:12; 1541; Synonyms to give exact meaning of verdienst.

4:33; 1541; Synonyms for krafft.

9:1; 1530; Synonyms for Schnaubete.

9:36; 1522; Explains name of Dorcas.

13:6, 8; 1522; Explains name Bar Jesus.

13:8; 1539; Meaning of name Elimas.

15:12; 1533; Explains technical use of Heiden.

17:18; 1530; Defines and gives equivalents for Spermologos.

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[1] Editorial notes, W.A.D.B., Bd. 6, p. 414-15.

[2] "Vorrede auff der Apostel Geschicht," op. cit., p. 414.

[3] Ibid., p. 416.

Things.- 5:17; 1541; Jewish custom. Hannas as high-priest and Sadducee.

12:14; 1530; Military. The vierteil system of guards.

18:27; 1533; Letters of recommendation, a protection against impostors.

19:19; 1530; Monetary system. Gives German equivalent. A grossche is equivalent to thirty lawenpfennig.

27:17; 1522; Geography. Explains position of Syrtes.

28:11; 1522; Mythology. Explaining zwilling he delves into the religious significance of the twins Castor and Poilux to the ancients. Now stars, then they were considered gods who were favorable to sea folk.

Edification.- 1:2; 1541; Bible study aid. The reader is reminded of the charge to the disciples.

3:15; 1530; Devotional. What Christ has done.

3:16; 1530; Popular Theology. God is believed through Christ.

12:5; 1541; Exhortation. The reader is exhorted to unceasing prayer.

19:18; 1530; Popular Theology. These accomplishments are the fruit of the Gospel.

25:19; 1541; Exhortation. How well the heathen Festus knows the Christian essentials of faith.

Paraphrase.- 8:33; 1530; Das ist type. The answer to the question how long he would reign, i.e., forever.

15:17; 1530; Same type. Who bear God's name.

17:28; 1530; Same type. How we are God's offspring.

21:15; 1541; Same type. What they did to be prepared to leave.

Polemic.- 5:1; 1533; Against the false spirituality of the church in acquiring property.

8:20; 1541; At Papatus omnia vendit pecunia. Peter's curse on Simon for offering him gold.

13:27; 1533; How much one can plaudern about Christ and yet lie and kill him.

Propaganda.- 1:8; 1533; The apostles are not witnesses of Moses but only of Christ's grace.

2:17; 1533; All men regardless of law and works.

2:38; 1533; Repentance due to Word not works.

3:20; 1530; Against fear and shame.

3:25; 1533; Moses' covenant forgotten in favor of Abraham's.

3:26; 1533; All holiness outside of grace is evil.

4:12; 1533; All righteous works outside.

9:36; 1533; Tabea believes first and is a disciple before good works are done.

10:1; 1533; Cornelius is an example of grace without law and circumcision.

11:15; 1533; The Holy Spirit comes upon Cornelius.

11:21; 1533; They come without the law to Christ.

13:12; 1533; The conversion of Sergius Paulus another example.

15:9; 1533; Repeats 11:15.

15:24; 1533; The works and law are the enemies of Christianity.

15:31; 1533; To be comforted means to be freed from the law. Reflects Luther's experience.

16:1; 1533; Another example of salvation without law.

and circumcision.

16:4; 1533; Refers back to Acts 15 on freedom from the law.

16:29; 1533; Salvation by faith.

17:33; 1533; Salvation by faith.

18:8; 1533; Salvation by faith.

Theological.- 9:4; 1541; Paul without the call.

9:6; 1541; Paul called and illuminated. Ananias is sent to him as a testimony to the disciples of his conversion.

9:12; 1541; Ananias sent to heal him, not to call him.

9:27; 1541; Testimony before his false brethren.

9:35 and 9:42 (Identical notes); 1541; The Word working without merit and works on the part of the recipient.

13:48; 1541; Same as above but adds that the Word converts.

12:15; 1543; Belief in angels as ministers of men is indicated on the slim basis that the maid Rhoda thought it was Peter's angel at the door.

Textual criticism.- 13:20 (Two notes on same passage); 1530; Luther justifies the reading vierhundert according to Exodus 12 and not from Judges 1. He attempts to establish the text by an interpretation of the chronology of the Old Testament; 1541; The former note replaced by this one which states that some texts have four hundred but this does not agree with history and chronology. He states that it is a scribal error of four for three which can be easily done in the Greek.

3. Summary

Luther's interpretation of Acts as a polemic and propa-

ganda document parallels his use of Revelation in 1530. Significant is the theological trend of 1541 which is not paralleled in his treatment of other books of the New Testament. His notes on Textual Criticism reveal a change in method from harmonization of history to a frank admission of scribal error. Significant in this book, as well as others, is the Edification note trend of 1530 following upon the heels of his popular theological works, the catechisms (1529).

Of interest is Luther's method in Acts. In the year 1530 in connection with his plan of a book on de loco iustificationis[1] Luther made marginal notes in his testament of 1530 or 1530[ii][2] and wrote the preface afterwards between 1530 and 1533 with the intention of using it in the full Bible of 1534.[3] This book never appeared but his method is a clear example of the connection between the work on the marginal notes and prefaces alongside of some other exegetical work.

I Corinthians

1. Preface

Two forms. (1) 1522-27[ii]; Digest type. (2) 1530 a longer form; Digest of letter preceded by polemic against the sects. Compares the present situation in Christendom with that of the Corinthians.

2. Notes

Language.- 1:20; 1522-27[ii]; Defines erforscher diser

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[1] W.A., Bd. 30 (ii), 643, 13; 652 ff.

[2] W.A.D.B., 4, 439 ff. [3] W.A.D.B., 4, 457.

welt. 5:10; 1522; Why the Christians would have to leave the world to

2:14; 1522; Defines Naturlich mensch.

4:13; 1530; Defines Fluch and Fegopffer. The example of Jonah is typical of common practise in a plague or difficulty. The scapegoat is killed. The apostle means that they are the most hated of men. Also refers to John 16 as a parallel. Quotes Greek and Latin equivalents.

16:9; 1530; Explanation of the figure "a great door is opened before me."

16:22; 1522 (omits Hebrew and Greek characters after 1525); Defines Anathema, Maharam, and Moth. Anathema is from the Greek, Maharam and Moth from the Hebrew. Anathema means Bann, Maharam means a thing, and Moth means death. The apostle means that where Christ is not loved, they are condemned to death. Leviticus 6 is given as a reference.

Things.- 15:29; 1522-45; An attempt to explain baptism on behalf of the dead. To strengthen the doctrine of the resurrection, Christians permitted themselves to be baptized over the grave of the dead one. The meaning was that they themselves were to be resurrected.

15:29; 1546; The above note was reworked into a simpler form. Baptism for the dead is a testimony to the belief in the article of the resurrection of the dead.

Paraphrase.- 1:9; 1530; Das ist type. What Gemeinschafft is.

1:10; 1541; Sense of passage paraphrased.

1:19; 1546; What the cross was, shame and nothingness.

2:7; 1522; How the message is a hidden mystery.

5:7; 1522; What is meant by the new leaven.

5:10; 1522; Why the Christians would have to leave the world to have perfect company.

6:17; 1541; How they are only one flesh in marriage.

7:18; 1522; Situation in regard to circumcision and uncircumcision.

7:37; 1522; Revised 1530; Das ist type. Free will in the decision to marry.

9:9; 1522; God cares for all things but this commandment is not for the ox because the ox cannot read. A justification of Paul's interpretation of this Old Testament command to apply to the ministry.

9:18; 1527ii; Paul's reward for preaching.

10:29; 1522; Paraphrases lassen urteilen.

11:28; 1530; Das ist type; How each one should examine himself.

11:29; 1530; How one can fail to discern the nature of the Lord's Supper.

12:2; 1522; Das ist type. Their former condition of heathendom contrasted with the present.

14:19; 1522; Das ist type; Luther qualifies Paul's statement about speaking "five words sensibly" to mean sensible interpretation in preaching.

14:24; 1546; What the visitor would be bound to say, "This is learned directly for God."

15:33; 1530; Das ist type; How bad company can ruin character.

15:55; 1541; Das ist type. The victory over death.

Scripture interprets itself.- 7:11; 1522; The question of divorce referred to Matthew 19.

7:14; 1522; "To the pure all things are pure" in Titus 1 interprets the passage how the marriage of a Christian will purify the other party.

11:10; 1522; Das ist type; Genesis 3 is to support the man's superiority and rule over women.

13:6; 1546; An example given of what love does not do. Shimei cursed David when he was pursued by Absalom.

13:13; 1522; Luther could hardly tolerate the expression that love was greater than faith. Love does not make righteous but faith does. Romans 1 is his reference. Love is greatest in relation to one's neighbor.

15:44; 1522; Natural life and spiritual life proven by Genesis 2.

Edification.- 4:4; 1522-27[ii]; Popular Theology. Grace alone.

4:8; 1522; In 1546 he adds Ironia, Er spottet, etc.; Luther notes that Paul is using irony and means exactly the opposite from what he says. An aid to study.

8:1; 1522; Aid to study. Indicates trend of thought in the text.

9:12; 1522; Devotional; How the apostle shields the weak.

9:24; 1539-46; Aid to Bible Study; Indicates content of next paragraph.

10:6; 1522; Devotional; Why the weak should not be despised.

11:28; 1522-27[ii]; Popular Theology; Self examination before the Lord's Supper on faith and relation to one's neighbor.

11:29; 1522-27[ii]; Popular Theology; On discerning the body.

12:4; 1522; Popular Theology; The gifts in relation to the believer and how they are shown.

12:13; 1530; Popular Theology; The inner unity of believers through the sacraments.

13:2; 1522; Popular Theology; All made righteous through faith as Paul preaches, but where love does not follow, faith is not right, even if it performs wonders. Luther's subordination of love to faith again evident.

13:9; 1522; Popular theology; In faith all are perfect but self knowledge evidences that we are incomplete.

14:4; 1522; Popular theology; How tongues fail to edify.

14:15; 1522; Popular theology; The difference between singing mit dem sinn and im Geist is explained.

14:22; 1522; Popular theology; Through tongues and wonders some are made believers but believers are strengthened and made better through prophecy by which they can test signs, etc.

Allegory.- 1:25; 1522; God's foolishness is the Gospel, for the clever a stumbling block, for the holy a heresy.

3:12; 1522; The gold and silver foundation is teaching and preaching.

4:1; 1522; God's mystery is the Gospel in which are hidden many good things for us.

Polemic.- 2:5; 1522; Against man-made teaching.

3:3; 1522; Hie hat Paulus das Bapstum und alle secten verdamp.

3:21; 1522; No individual has power to make laws for Christians to imprison the conscience. Against the Pope though not directly mentioned.

6:4; 1530; The heathen have no power to judge Christians

in things like the sacrament, etc. Reflects attitude in Send-brief vom Dolmetschen of the same year that no sectarian can translate scripture.

7:35; 1522; Paul does not desire that marriage be forbidden by the popes for monks and nuns.[1]

7:38; 1522; Celibacy is not better in the eyes of God.

9:26; 1522; The individual who relies on works beats the air vainly.

10:26; 1522; Christ is Lord and free and so is every Christian. Reflects Luther's treatise on Christian Liberty.[2]

13:5; 1530; Love does not behave unseemly Wie die zornigen störrigen, ungedültigen Köpffe thun.

15:3; 1533; For the wise ones[3] it is perfect foolishness to hear from scripture. Reflects his controversy on the authority of scripture, the pope, etc.

3. Summary

Of interest is the fact that the polemic notes preceded the polemic preface of 1530. Like the chief books, the greatest activity is shown in the first edition. Other exegetical work

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[1]"An den Christlichen Adel Seutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung" (1520), W.A., Bd. 6 (1888), p. 381, and "Ursach und Antwort, das Jungfraren Klöster göttlich verlassen nögen"(1523), W.A., Bd. 11 (1900), p. 387.

[2]"Von der Freiheit einer Christenmenschen" (1520), W.A., Bd. 7, 1897.

[3]"An den Bock zu Leipzig" (1521), p. 259; "Auf des Bocks zu Leipzig Antwort" (1521), p. 266; "Auf das überchristlich, übergeistlich und überkünstlich Buch Bocks Emsers zu Leipzig Antwert. Darin auch Murnarrs seines Gesellen gedacht wird" (1521), p. 614, all above in W.A., Bd. 7 (1897). Also, "Ein Widerspruch D. Luthers seines Irrthums, erzwungen durch den allerhochgelehrtesten Priester Gottes, Herrn Hieronymus Emser, Vicarien zu Miessen" (1521), W.A., Bd. 8 (1889), p. 241.

shows little or no influence.[1]

II Corinthians

1. Preface -

1522; Digest type; Hint at situation caused by previous letter.

2. Notes

Language.- 1:20; 1522; Meaning of Amen.

4:4; 1522; Meaning of phrase "God of this world."

9:5; 1533; Das ist paraphrase type; Defines Geitz.

9:11; 1522; Defines Einfeltigkeit.

Paraphrase.- 1:11; 1522; Das ist type; Who the viel person are.

2:5; 1530; Das ist type; How Paul shared their anxieties, etc.

3:4; 1522; Adding to the statement of the text Ein solch vertrawen aber haben wir this note das wir euch zum brieffe bereyttet haben.

4:6; 1533; Das ist type; Polemic. So we preach. Others may preach works and the law.

5:11; 1522; Das ist type; Polemic. We do not impose these burdens of bans, etc. Reflects his experience under the ban being yet new to him.

5:13; 1522; Das ist type; Reflects same situation as

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[1]"Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe" (1520), W.A., (1888), Bd. 6, p. 349; "Das siebente Kapitel zu den Corinthern ausgelegt" (1523), W.A. (1891), Bd. 12, p. 88. "Das 15 Capitel der 1 Epistel S. Pauli an die Corinther" (1532-33), W.A. (1909), Bd. 36, p. 478. The latter first printed in 1534.

above. God is served not in driving but serving people.

5:16; 1522; Christ no more known in the flesh. Emphasis on his presence in the Word.

6:12; 1522; Revised and shortened 1530; Paraphrases situation that had caused the Corinthians worry.

7:16; 1541; After expression of desire to see them, Luther adds a human touch paraphrasing Paul; "Ich kans mit euch nicht verderben."

8:10; 1522; What the first congregations wanted to do and did; Aid to Bible Study.

10:14; 1530; Paraphrases text. What Paul praises in himself.

11:10; 1530; Uses in direct discourse the figure of running water as a parallel paraphrasing the text.

11:21; 1522; Das ist type; Paraphrases text. Paul's desire to fit in with all men.

13:4; 1530; Das ist type; Though some of you disregard me, yet when I come I shall show you that I live in Christ.

Scripture interprets itself.- 2:6; 1522; Refers to I Corinthians 5.

4:2; 1530; The false apostles are like Christ's figure Matthew 23.

4:6; 1522; Through Christ we know God. John 6.

11:29; 1522; Refers to I Corinthians 8 and 12.

Experience.- 12:7; 1530; Great fear and plagues from the devil.

12:9; 1530; Luther strengthened also in weakness. All are comforted by this passage.

Allegory.- 3:13; 1522; The letter is the veil of Moses.

Grace shows Christ's face clearly and frees us from the letter and its works. In the clarity of grace they must vanish.

3:18; 1522; Looking in a mirror is like looking in our hearts to see the reflection of Christ.

Polemic.- 2:17; Two forms 1530 and 1546; Against greed and avarice in the ministry.

3:6; 1522; The Spirit teaches grace, the Law teaches works. This note is against the work doctrines of the church.

3:6; 1522; What the letter teaches. Against work doctrines.

7:1; 1530; Avarice soils the teaching of faith. This is done by false teachers.

Philippians

1. Preface

1522; No variations; Digest type; Polemic, slightly against Wercklerer.

2. Notes

Things.- 3:2; 1522; Explanation of circumcision and Paul's use of the same designating his opponents.

Paraphrase.- 2:14; 1530; Paraphrases On zweiuel as not murmuring against God, etc.

2:17; 1530; Das ist type; Paraphrase Paul's attitude towards martyrdom. - A reflection of Luther's experience under the ban.

3:12; 1530; Das ist type; How Paul can attain: Christ has called and brought to his grace. Popular theology.

4:3; 1543; Das ist type; In 1522 Luther translated his

passage meyn artiger geferte. In 1527[ii] this was changed to rechtschaffener geferte. In 1530 he saw in it a reference to a person, the leading bishop, and translated it trewer geselle. This note was added to explain the last translation. Geselle is a companion. The greeting is paraphrased in the note. It is essentially a defense of his translation on the sinnformung principle.

Edification.- 3:16; 1530; Such revelations are not against faith and spiritual unity. Popular theology.

3. Summary

Of particular interest is the defense of his translation. Gesell was used by the German translations before Luther.[1]

Colossians

1. Preface

1522; No variations; Digest type; Says it is modelled after Ephesians on a smaller scale parallel to Galatians modelled after Romans.

2. Notes

Language.- 3:16; 1530; Das ist paraphrase type; Defines Lieblichen.

4:6; 1530; Refers to above note 3:16.

Paraphrase.- 2:10; 1530; Das ist paraphrase type; How one is complete in Christ.

2:13; 1522-27[ii]; Das ist type; Spiritual circumcision.

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[1]"Die Erste Deutsche Bibel," op. cit., Bd. 2.

3:15; 1530; Das ist type; How to have peace in God. Quotes Latin John 16:33.

Edification.- 2:14; 1522; Popular theology: How Christ has freed men from conscience, etc.

Polemic.- 2:4; 1530; Against teaching on works.

2:23; 1530; Against asceticism and man's teachings.

I Thessalonians

1. Preface

1522; Digest; Some hint at historical situation.

2. Notes

Language.- 5:13; 1530; Das ist paraphrase literary type; Friedsam is defined and described.

Paraphrase.- 3:3; 1530; Das ist type. They will not be otherwise.

5:23; 1530; Das ist type. Paraphrase gantz to show what is included.

Scripture interprets itself.- 5:19; 1522; I Corinthians 14 to interpret stifling the Spirit.

Polemic.- 4:12; 1530; Direct polemic against mendicant monks, etc.

II Thessalonians

1. Preface

1522; Digest type, also historical situation, and polemic.

2. Notes

2:4; 1522; Polemic. The Anti-Christ is the papacy; Also exhibits scripture interpreting itself referring to I Timothy 3.

3:2; 1530; Polemic. Against the wild, wonderful, troublesome, heretical heads. Against the sects and radicals.

I Timothy

1. Preface

1522; No variations; Digest type.

2. Notes

Language.- 2:15; 1530; Discusses the reading bleibet or bleiben. Bleybet was used in the 1522 translation and was later revised (1524) to bleiben. Both are as good, he says, but he prefers bleiben because the passage is directed to wives in general.

4:14; 1541; Equivalents of Eltesten are Priester or Priesterschafft.

5:21; 1530; Defines Gutdünckel.

6:4; 1530; Defines Verdustert.

6:5; 1530; Defines Gewerbe.

Paraphrase.- 1:18 (Dis Gebot); 1530; Das ist type. Explains command given Timothy.

1:18 (Weissagung); Das ist type. This teaching stands written in the Prophets.

5:5; 1527[11]; Das ist type. Explanation of what an einsam widow is, namely one without support.

5:11; 1530; Explains Geil.

Scripture interprets itself.- 2:8; 1530; Philemon 2 to

interpret murmuring against God.

6:10; 1530; Matthew 13 to interpret sorrow and anguish in the world.

Edification.- 3:16; 1530; How Christ is praised in the Spirit refers to Gospel and faith. Popular theology.

5:23; 1530; Description of heretics who are clearly seen as such and others who are not evident.

6:4; 1530; Falsehood needs much explanation and comment. Polemic perhaps.

3. Summary

Of interest is the fact that Luther adds the greater amount of notes to this book after his Vorlesung on this epistle of 1528.[1]

II Timothy

1. Preface

1522; No variations; Digest type; Places it at the end of Paul's career calling it ein Letze brieff; Polemic against Spiritual Estate. Paul's prophecy fulfilled in them; Eschatological interest.

2. Notes

Language.- 1:7; 1527[ii]; Defines zucht.

Paraphrase.- 2:19; 1541; Das ist type. Emphasis on preaching a late interest.

Edification.- 2:15; 1530; Popular theology. The dis-

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[1] "Vorlesung über den I Timotheusbrief" (1528), W.A., Bd. 26, p. 1 ff.

tinction between law and gospel. Timothy is instructed to rightly divide these two in scripture.

Polemic.- 2:23; 1541; Against the sects which want neither discipline nor doctrine.

Titus.

1. Preface

1522; No variations; Digest type.

2. Notes

Language.- 1:7; 1530; Definition of Eigensinnig.

1:8; 1527ii; Synonyms for züchtig.

2:2; 1527ii; Luther explains that wherever züchtig appears he means vernünfftig, messig, etc., because he does not desire to use the word vernünfftig.

2:12; 1527ii; Same note as 1:8.

3:2; 1527ii; Defines Gelinde.

Paraphrase.- 2:15; 1530; Das ist type. Paraphrases why the culprit should be thoroughly punished.

Scripture interprets itself.- 3:8; 1530; The people notice the kind of teaching done according to Matthew 7.

Polemic.- 3:14; 1541; Against the useless folk, monks, etc.

3. Summary

The influx of notes in 1527 runs parallel with Luther's Vorlesung of the same year on this book and Philemon.[1]

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[1] "Vorlesung über die Briefe an Titus und Philemon" (1527), W.A., Bd. 25, p. 1.

Philemon

1. Preface

1522; Digest type. Makes play on name Onesimus.

2. Notes

Language.- 5:10; 1522ii; It reached its final form in 1527ii; It is a language type explaining Paul's play on the name Onesimus.

3. Summary

Noteworthy is the attempt to bring to the German reader the play on words in the original.

II Peter

1. Preface

1522; Digest type; Polemic against work doctrines.

2. Notes

Paraphrase.- 2:13; 1530; Explains the excess at the love feasts. Because of the nature of the feast they expected to go unpunished.

3:6; 1530; Supplies wort and wasser for the indefinite subject.

Polemic.- 2:18; 1530; Against the papal ban on marriage for the clergy and the sins that have followed.

3:3; 1530; Against the sects, their radical interpretations and disregard for law.

3. Summary

All the notes in this book were added in 1530. It follows on the heels of the commentary of 1523-24.[1]

II and III John

1. Preface

1522 (Only a line in the Preface to all three epistles); Apologetic type, defending them as examples of love and faith and having a genuine apostolic spirit.[2]

2. Notes

II John 5:9; 1530; Edification type. Outside of belief in Christ, all service of God is vain. Popular theology.

Generalizations

While the majority of the books in the secondary class received marginal comments in the first edition, it is noteworthy that six were not favored in that way. At first sight it would seem that in his work of inserting the marginal comments on the proof sheet, that he got no further than the end of II Thessalonians before the edition had to go through the press. Then it would seem that the edition of 1530 was better planned and all the books are given more or less uniform attention. But the problem is not as simple as that.

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[1]"Die ander Epistel S. Petri und eine S. Judas gepredigt und ausgelegt" (1523-24), W. A., Bd. 14, p. 1 ff.

[2]"Vorrede auff die drey Episteln sanct Johannis," op. cit., p. 326.

Another suggestion might also be made that in the limited time at his disposal he would work upon the more important books and the six that are neglected in this group are of slight importance compared to them. This also may have entered in.

But the solution possibly lies in the fact that the books receiving notes in 1522 and little attention after 1522 were books which he had previously lectured or written commentaries upon. Thus the notes in the synoptics and Paul would be explained by the Wartburg postil which preceded the New Testament in 1522. The 1527 notes in Titus are explained by the lectures of the same year. I Timothy (1530) would be explained by the lectures of 1528; II Peter would be explained by the commentary of 1523. But most convincing is the case of Acts in 1533 influenced entirely by a proposed work in 1530 and inserted in the margins of Luther's own Bible of 1530 or 1530[ii]. Little can be supposed on the basis of the 1530 edition since all except Philemon received attention in that edition, but the case of Acts is convincing because an influx of notes and a preface is unusual in that edition (1533). This is also true of the notes on Titus in 1527[ii]. But it must be noted that I and II Timothy receive a note each in that edition indicating that he worked upon the pastorals as a group.

Forty-nine notes deal with language. Twenty-three of these are definitions, six deal with translation problems, six give synonyms, four give the original language, three deal with names, three explain phrases, one explains a proverb, another an idiom, and another furnishes a paraphrase. Interesting is the suggestion of a Hebraism in the negative way of stating things.

Twenty-eight notes deal with things. Six explain how

things are done, five explain foreign beliefs, five deal with military matters and government, three are geographical, three deal with monetary values, while food, weapons, ointments, and trees each have one note.

The characters of Lebbeus, Barachias, Abiathar and Beelzebub are differentiated and explained.

Of the eighty-four paraphrase notes, forty-six are paraphrases of the text, seventeen put indirect discourse into direct discourse, six describe the situation, six are propagandic, three are polemic, two are aids to the Bible student and one states negatively what the text gives positively.

The three notes dealing with textual criticism all reflect the attempt to make scripture agree. One in Mark seeks to harmonize the gospel accounts, suggesting a scribal error of six for three. In Acts he sought to harmonize the reading with scriptural chronology. This was in 1522. In 1541 he abandoned this, frankly admitting it did not fit and a scribal error of four hundred for three hundred is supposed.

Nineteen notes illustrate the principle that scripture is to interpret itself. In six instances the reference is to Matthew. In five notes the Old Testament is called in to establish a doctrine, to illustrate a language device, to give an illustration of a truth from sacred history, etc. Five cross references are given within Paul. Matthew is referred twice to John, no doubt because Luther considered John the more authoritative gospel. Luke is given a cross reference within itself.

The unity of scripture is demonstrated by twenty-three notes. Six notes illustrate comparison of gospel accounts. Matthew and Luke compare genealogies. Matthew conforms in two

instances with Mark. John is read into Matthew in one instance. On the other hand, John is proclaimed as the spiritual gospel while the parallel reference is to Matthew.

Paul is read into scripture in eight instances. Six of these are to establish doctrines and two give language parallels. These instances are found in Matthew and Luke.

Ideas further developed in his introduction to the Old Testament of 1523 are found in the Old and New Testament notes. Nine notes occur of this type. Christ in the Old Testament, Old Testament prophecy fulfilled in the New Testament, Christ abrogating the Old Testament, two kinds of law in the Old Testament, Moses and Christ, the Old Testament as law: the New Testament as gospel as the usual themes.

Sixty-two notes are of the edification type. Thirty-six are popular theology, nine are devotional, nine are exhortations for the Christian life, seven are aids to Bible study, and one describes a situation.

Six notes reveal personal experiences. In 1522 in three notes he betrays worry for the future of his cause, his treatise on Christian Liberty, and anticipated persecution. Three notes indicate his personal subjective experiences with the devil, his strengthening in weakness like Paul, and his friends worry that he was insane from too much work.

Of the thirty-four allegorical notes (two withdrawn in 1527[11]), twenty-five are of the commentator, six are of the text itself, and three are spiritual interpretations of otherwise impossible texts.

Nine notes are theological. In Acts a series of seven in Latin indicate the way of salvation. One is added in 1543

on belief in angels. The only note appearing outside of Acts of this type describes the precise point of Christ's glorification in Matthew. All except one (1543) are from 1541.

Twenty propaganda notes appear in Acts tying up with the purpose of the preface.

Of direct polemic there are forty-two notes. Thirteen are directly against the papacy, nine are against menschenlere, five against worldly power (which might be applied to both sects and papacy), four against greed and hypocrisy, three against the wise one, and six are directly against the sects and one deals with volcksreligion, superstition, etc.

C. THE "AWKWARD SQUAD"

Hebrews

1. Preface

1522; Apologetic.[1] Criticized organic structure of book.[2]

2. Notes

Language.- 11:3; 1530; A defense for his use of the German aus nichte for the Vulgate Invisibilibus, which "is nothing and we call it nothing until it occurs." The evident desire to make a thoroughly German translation.

Things.- 12:27; 1541; Reference to the tabernacle of Moses. Luther was particularly anxious in the Old Testament

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[1] Cf. discussion in Standards of Canonicity.

[2] "Vorrede," op. cit., p. 344, 11:17-19.

to make the tabernacle arrangements vivid to the reader.

Scripture interprets itself.- 2:7; 1522; The passage quotes Psalms 8 which is translated from the Hebrew by Luther in the note. It illustrates reading Christ into the Old Testament.

11:34; 1530; Pauline parallel, II Corinthians 12. Power in weakness.

Paraphrase.- 10:35; 1541; Substitutes German metaphor Schlahets nicht in den wind.

11:3; 1527ii only; The world made by the Word.

12:2; 1527ii only; Expands figure of the first and last, Jesus the leader and captain.

13:9; 1522; We learn of clothes and food from man-made law, not faith.

13:9; 1541; The true way to serve God.

Experience.- 5:11; 1530; Lack of understanding on part of readers reminiscent of recent experiences which lead to the writing of the catechisms[1] and "On keeping children in school."[2]

10:38; 1530; Individuals defecting from a cause like the defection of the German princes.[3]

11:3; 1541; Background of Luther's experience with the rapid spread of the Reformation.

Allegory.- 7:2; 1522ii; Carries out meaning of allegory of Melchezidek. As an aid Romans 1 and 5 are referred to. A

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[1]"Deudsch Katechismus" (Der Grosse Katechismus) 1529, p. 123, and "Der Kleine Katechismus," 1529, p. 239, W.A., Bd. 30. "Vorrhede" describes conditions.

[2]W.A., Bd. 30 (ii), p. 517 ff.

[3]Cf. Preserved Smith, "German Politics 1522-29," The Life and Letters of Martin Luther (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), Chap. xix, pp. 214-228.

controlled allegory to bring out the implications of the text.

5:12; 1530; The allegory of the milk which symbolizes the teaching of the law. I Peter references to milk are given to correct Hebrews. In I Peter milk is fed to the children of the New Testament. Besides allegory it must be noted that the doctrines and concepts of the chief books are read into these lesser books.

2:1; 1541; The figure is expanded to that of a boat drifting to destruction. Hardly allegory in the strict sense.

3. Summary

Luther's notes on Hebrews do not indicate any special interests. There is no effort to bend the book for his purposes. Worthy of note is the reflection of his experiences, Peter and Paul read into the glosses in step-motherly fashion, Christ in the Old Testament and controlled allegory. Though it receives two notes in the 1522 edition, more would be expected if he had thought more highly of the book because of his lectures on Hebrews in 1517-18.[1]

James

1. Preface

1522; Revised in 1530 omitting statement that one man counts little in worldly affairs and in scripture James can not

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[1]Luthers Hebräerbrief-Vorlesung von 1517-18, German trans. by Lic. Erich Vogelsang, Arbieten zur Kirchengeschichte edited by Emanuel Hirsch and Hans Lietzmann (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Company, 1530). In Latin, Luthers Vorlesung über den Hebräerbrief nach den Vatikanischen Handschrift, eds. Emanual Hirsch and Hanns Rückert (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Company, 1929).

stand alone against Paul and the others;[1] Apologetic[2] but notes historical objections to authorship of James. Expresses principle that scripture must agree within itself.

2. Notes

Scripture interprets itself.- 1:6; 1530; To explain why the individual who doubts never receives his request, Luther quotes II Timothy 3. The doubter in James is explained by the learner who never learns in Paul. Both work hard to receive nothing.

5:5; 1530; The feast of Schlachttag is explained by the feast for the prodigal Luke 15 and the wedding feast of Matthew 21. Quite properly this note could be classed as an explanation of custom, but it is significant that scripture describes such a custom. Scripture should be self-interpretive.

Paraphrase.- 4:1; 1530; "Warring within your members" is the struggle to acquire earthly goods.

4:6; 1530; This struggle (above) does not get them their desires. Following the Spirit does so.

3. Summary

The Preface revision and addition of notes cannot be construed as a weakening of Luther's position on James. Significant is the principle of unity in scripture which he proceeds to carry out by interpreting James with Paul.

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[1]"Vorrede auff die Episteln Sanct Jacobi unnd Judas," op. cit., p. 386.

[2]Cf. "Standards of Canonicity."

Jude

1. Preface

1522; Apologetic.[1]

2. Notes

Scripture interprets itself.- 5:7; 1530; Das ist type. Illustrates scripture interpreting self by explaining reference to Sodom and Gomorrah in text with Genesis 19.

Paraphrase.- 5:16; 1530; In paraphrasing those who continually complain, their condition is described that they are never satisfied and they know more than anyone else.

5:23; 1530; Das ist type. How some are saved through fear and snatched from the fire.

3. Summary

Follows same trend of 1530 edition as James and similar books. Luther commented on this book in 1523-24.[2]

Revelation

1. Preface

1522 and 1530 (Two forms); 1522 is apologetic.[3] 1530 is polemic. Also apologetic elements in defense of first position which is not essentially changed except that he saw in it a

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[1]Cf. Chapter on "Standards of Canonicity."

[2]"Die ander Epistel S. Petri und eine S. Judas gepredigt und ausgelegt" 1523-24, W.A., Bd. 14, p. 1.

[3]Cf. "Standards of Canonicity."

polemic value when so interpreted for his cause identifying his enemies with those of the Apocalypse. He claims to make an historical interpretation which does not take into account the situation from which the book arose but instead that the figures of history are fitted in as he sees best. He is determined to give the höhern Geistern something to think about.

The angels of the seven churches in Asia are their bishops. The twenty-four elders are symbolic of all bishops and teachers. The four horsemen are plagues. The bad angels are the heretics but there are always good angels to comfort the church. The bad angels are Tatian, Origen, Novatian and the Donatists. Arius, the papacy, and the papacy and the state are the three woes. The two beasts are the papacy. The wounded beast is the fallen Roman Empire now imposed on the Germans. This is only the first woe! This gives occasion for direct polemic against the papacy and the woes for which it is responsible. The second woe is the Mohammedans. All these contemporary events point to the Turks as Gog and Magog. The Anti-Christ is slain by God's Word. The truth is preached. Now Babylon, the papacy, falls. But the frogs (Faber, Eck, and Emser) croak vainly against the Gospel. When all these forces are disappointed they resort to arms and gather kings and princes for battle. Satan after his thousand years imprisonment brings up the red Jews (Turks) into the Letzetranck. The thousand years began when the book was written. The last judgment follows and all the godless are condemned.

This interpretation is of value because it assures the church of victory, it warns of coming events, and points out the true enemy of the church. People who expect a perfect church

and Christians should read this book. Holiness is other-worldly and is not visible to men. If the Word of the Gospel remains pure the church can be assured that Christ is in it.

2. Notes

Language.- 9:11; 1522; Explanation of the names Abaddon and Apollyon as destroyer.

16:16; 1530; Explanation of Hermagedon as meaning unfortunate soldiers.

18:3; 1530; Mutwillen given as synonym for Wollust.

Things.- 6:6; 1530; The size of the measure Chenix (χοῖνιξ) is equal to one Kanne or two Nössel or onehalf Metze. The value of Grosche is thirty lawenpfennig.

21:17; 1530; Indicates the thickness of the walls (144 ellen).

Edification.- 4:1; 1530; Aid to Bible study. Picture of Christendom before the plagues.

5:1; 1530; Aid to Bible study. What is in the book.

6:1, 3, 5, 7; 1530; Aid to Bible study. Names plagues.

6:9; 1530; Aid to Bible study. Comfort passage.

7:1; 1530; Aid to Bible study. Heretics are to come and Christians are prepared for it beforehand.

14:14; 1530; Aid to Bible study. A furbilde of the judgment.

Scripture interprets itself.- 10:9; 1530; Also Polemic. Psalm 5 and 10 brought in as evidence to prove the downfall of man-made teaching.

Polemic.- 6:12; 1530; Paraphrases contents to be all of plagues on Christendom to that date.

8:1; 1530; The seven heretics.

8:7; 1530; Tatian and the Encratites who forbade marriage. Also the Pelagians.

8:8; 1530 with variations; Marcion, the Manicheans, and the Cataphrygians.

8:10; 1530; Origen.

8:12; 1530; Novatian and the Cathari.

9:1; 1530; Arius, the first woe.

9:13; 1530; Mohammed, the second woe.

10:1; 1530; The Roman papacy in its spiritual dress.

10:6; 1530; Paraphrases the papacy is to rule all. No one a Christian outside of it. It alone is the head.

11:1; 1530; The papacy places laws on Christendom.

11:4; 1530; The good preachers who hold to the pure Word.

11:7; 1530; The beast is the world papacy. Canon 12 is the proof!

11:15; 1530; The worldly papacy appears but first Christians are comforted.

13:1; 1530; The third woe is the evils brought on by the papacy.

13:3; 1530; Imperial Rome, deserted by the Greeks, is put on the Germans by the pope. This note is in Latin.

13:6; 1530; The Roman empire.

13:11; 1530; The papacy continues the empire.

13:15; 1530; The Word and Spirit go on in power.

13:18; 1530; The duration of the papacy.

14:1; 1530; Comfort and assurance of final victory.

15:1; 1530; The preachers of the gospel.

16:13; 1530; The unsuccessful attempts of the frogs.

17:1; 1530; The Roman church in her true form is the great whore.

17:5; 1526[11]; The mystery is the spiritually great Babylon. Irony. Luther's interpretation in formulation at that time. One of two glosses before 1530 in this book.

17:8; 1530; The Roman Empire after her fall is carried on by the papacy.

17:10 (a); 1530; The fifth kingdom, which has fallen, is Greece.

17:10 (b); 1530; The kingdom now existing is Germany.

17:10 (c); 1530; Spain is that which is to come which will last a short time.

17:11 (d); 1530; Refers to Roma or Welschland.

17:12; 1530; The other kings are of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland and France.

17:16; 1530; These kings support the papacy though they hate it. But commerce, etc., requires their allegiance. This is the doctrine Defensores Papae, devoratores eius.

18:2; 1530; The happy outcry at the papal downfall.

19:11; 1530; The Word of God against the papacy.

20:3; 1530; The thousand years begin with the composition of the book. Now the Turks will come to the help of the papacy to root out Christ.

20:8; 1530; Gog is the Turks or Red Jews.

3. Summary

Throughout both preface and notes the polemic strain is dominant. The book has been interpreted to serve the practical

needs of Luther's movement. Reflected is his personal experience of conflict with the papacy. It is the bitter polemic of complete disillusionment. The preface and interpretation is paralleled by his interpretation of I Maccabees in the same year.

In 1520 Luther called the pope the Endechrist.[1] In 1528 his friend Paul Speratus sent Luther two manuscripts which are important for determining the appearance of this apocalyptic polemic. Evidently Luther had felt before this time that the Apocalypse had been slighted by the Reformers because he wrote on March 21, 1527 to Clemens Ursinus in Bruck that no one had written on the Apocalypse as yet.[2] In April or May of 1527 Luther received these two manuscripts.[3]

One of these manuscripts was a commentary on the Apocalypse written by Johann Purvey, Wycliffe's chaplain and co-worker at Lutterworth, about 1390 when he was in jail. Luther wrote a preface for it[4] and Rörer supervised the printing of it. Nickel Schirlentz, who was the printer, was very slow about the task. Rörer wrote letters about this on October 6, 1527 and January 1, 1528.[5] It appeared soon after that.

Both Luther and Rörer were in error as to its date of composition. Luther thought that it was later than the Council

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[1]"Wider die Bulle des Endchrists" (1520), W.A., (1808), Bd. 6, p. 613 ff.

[2]Enders, 6, 30.

[3]For the situation cf. Julius Köstlin and D. Gustav Kawerau, Martin Luther, Sein Leben und seine Schriften (Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1903) II, 144. Also E. Thiele, W.A., Bd. 26, p. 119 ff.

[4]"Vorrede zu Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante Centam annos aeditus" (1528), W.A., (1909), Bd. 26, p. 121.

[5]G. Buchwald, Zur Wittenberger Stadt- und Universitäts-geschichte (Leipzig: G. Wigand, 1893), pp. II, 20.

of Constance (1414-1418) which was to end the great schism. He made this assumption on the basis of its contents. Rörer in attempting to improve a marginal note on folio 170[a] which falsely gave its date of appearance as 1357 misconstrued it and stated that it was evidently of the year 1338.

The facts of the case are that the earthquake of 1382, on the very day in May that Archbishop Courtenay of Canterbury read to the Blackfriars in the Dominican cloister the condemnation of Wycliffe's twenty-four theses, is reflected. Another earthquake in 1389 at the occasion of a false prophecy is also reflected. Wycliffe died December 31, 1384. It was written by Johann Purvey, his chaplain in Lutterworth, in prison 1390.

Wycliffe's ideas are of course predominant in this commentary. The Great Schism began in 1378 by the Italian elected pope Urban VI. Indulgences were promised to those participating in the crusades against the rival pope. Wycliffe considered both popes to be false and the chief pope was the antichrist. Luther was encouraged by this commentary because of its outspoken interpretation of the figures of the Apocalypse. He considered himself to be on the right track when he named the papacy Babylon and its head the enemy of Christ. Rörer made marginal notes in this publication to be certain that the reader would not miss this point.

The second document to reach Luther which influenced his interpretation of the Apocalypse was a vision of a Swiss brother Clausen.[1] This vision first seen by the hermit, Nikolaus von der Fluhe, who died in 1488, consisted of a head with three

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[1]"Ein gesichte Bruder Clausen ynn Schweytz und seine deutunge" (1528), W.A., Bd. 26, p. 125 ff. Also "Köstlin-Kawerau," ibid.

crowns. The face had a terrifying mien. Six swords came from this face. Luther interpreted this vision as the papacy. This vision with its interpretation was published in Wittenberg in 1528.

Luther also wrote a preface for the newly translated prophetic book supposed to have been by the Astrologer Johann Lichtenberger in the court of Kaiser Friedrich III. This had been previously circulated in German but was newly translated by Stephan Roth in 1527 in Wittenberg.[1]

To eschatologically minded individuals the Turks represented Gog and Magog of the Apocalypse and Ezekiel. Luther wrote on the Turks in 1529[2] and in 1530, influenced by the signs of the times, he translated the prophet Daniel.[3] Later in the same year at the Coburg he translated the 38th and 39th chapters of Ezekiel and issued them separately with glosses. This was printed by Nickel Schirlentz in Wittenberg.[4]

These publications prior to 1530 and the attitudes reflected in them, reveal the interpretation of the Apocalypse in the preface and marginal notes as a result of a long period of eschatological speculation which reached a climax in 1530, the time of its composition.

The writings of the years following until his death reveal no essential revision of this interpretation. He expected all Christians to go through a period of persecution[5] and he

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[1]"Kostlin-Kawerau," ibid.

[2]"Vom Kriege wider die Türken" (1529), p. 81; and "Heerpredigt wider den Türken" (1529), p. 149, W.A., Bd. 30 (ii).

[3]Reu, op. cit., p. 208.

[4]"Das 38 und 39 Capitel Hesekiel vom Gog" (1530), W.A., Bd. 30 (ii), p. 220.

[5]"Ein trostlich unterricht, wie man sich gegen den

evidenced an expectation of the sudden return of the Christ in a sermon of the same year, 1531.[1] The followers of Münster are identified as Valentinians and Donatists in a writing of 1535.[2] In 1537 the Papacy is called Beelzebub.[3] The Turkish menace is again reflected in 1541.[4] All these works indicate that his interpretation of Revelation was not a momentary interest but can be traced in its essentials back to 1520 and continues until his last years.

Generalizations

The only book to receive any marginal notes in 1522 was Hebrews. The reason for this attention may be indicated in his lectures of 1517-18. But their number is disappointing for a book he knew so well. No doubt his evaluation of the book influenced this lack of attention. Nothing can be adduced in the case of Jude (1530) following upon a commentary of 1523. The 1530 edition notes treat all the New Testament books. But of extreme interest is the fact that the interpretation of Revelation in 1530 can be traced back in his writings as far as 1520 and his writings against contemporary forces bear witness to his belief that the end was soon near. Thus one cannot assume that

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Tyrannen, so Christum und sein Wort verfolgen, halten soll" (1531), W.A., Bd. 34 (i), p. 83.

[1]"Ein tröstliche predigt von der zukunfft Christi, Lukas 21," W.A., Bd. 34 (ii), p. 459.

[2]"Vorrede zu Urbanus Rhegius, Widerlegung des Bekenntnisses der Münsterischen neuen Valentinianer und Donatisten" (1535), W.A., Bd. 38, p. 336.

[3]"Beelzebub an die Heilige päpstliche Kirche" (1537), W.A., Bd. 50, p. 126.

[4]"Vermahnung zum Gebet wider den Türken" (1541), W.A., Bd. 51, p. 577.

the interest in Revelation is a sudden one, but is one conditioned by a long period of polemic and striking contemporary events which were inducing all Europe to think along those lines. His interpretation of Revelation is paralleled by I Maccabees and I Corinthians of the same year.

The majority of the notes appear in the 1530 edition. Little attention was given these books in 1541. Hebrews receives the most consistent attention.

Four notes deal with language problems. One is devoted to translation, two are definitions, and one offers a synonym. Three notes pertain to things. One deals with measurements and monetary values, a second with monetary values alone and the third deals with the Old Testament tabernacle. Six notes illustrate scripture interpreting itself. Two of these read in Paul, two refer to the Psalms, one refers to a portion in Matthew and one gives the reference to an Old Testament historical allusion. Nine notes are devoted to paraphrase of the text. Nine edification notes function as Bible study aids. His experiences are reflected in three notes. Two of 1530 reflect his work on the catachesims and the defection from his cause. In 1541 he marvels (indirectly) at the spread of the reformation, a natural thing to do when in the meditative later years of life.

Three notes indicate allegories in the text. In one case, the allegorical interpretation of the same figure (milk) in a chief book (I Peter) is introduced in a step-motherly fashion. Polemic notes are found only in Revelation and cover all the heretics of history and contemporary times. It centers in the papacy.

D. SUNDRY PREFACES AND NOTICES

Vorspruch

1530; Warning against pirate editions, etc.; Of significance is the statement Aber dis Testament sol des Luther's Deudsch Testament sein. This statement characterizes the German New Testament of Luther and explains its genius.

Another warning was inserted in the full Bible of 1541-46 at the beginning of the Old Testament.

This Vorspruch reflects the same attitudes as the Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen[1] of the same year. Luther's experiences with criticism by opponents and capitalizing on his translation by pirate printers are its background.

Vorrhede

1522; Omits first paragraph and part of second in 1534; Propaganda type; Exhibits approach:[2] The reader should expect the Gospel and promises in the New Testament. Defines Gospel, New Testament and Old Testament. Paul is read into all scripture. Christ is found everywhere in the Old Testament.[3]

Christ is known in experience and means nothing until that time. That knowledge exceeds the knowledge of Christ's life or of doctrines and commands. Christ must not be made another Moses.

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[1] W.A., Bd. 30 (2), pp. 633, 19 ff.; 639, 24 ff.

[2] "Vorrhede," W.A.D.B., Bd. 6, p. 2.

[3] Five examples of this interpretive principle are given. Genesis 3:15; 22:18; II Samuel 7:12; Micah 5:2; Hosea 13:14.

Slightly polemic against Jerome's biblical prefaces. That is his reason for writing a preface: there are so many false conceptions.

This preface is practically the same as his preface to the Wartburg Postil of the same year.[1]

wilchs die rechten und Edlisten bucher des newen testaments sind

1522-37 in New Testament editions. Does not occur in the full Bible of 1534; Apologetic. Discussed under chapter on "Standards of Canonicity."

This background of this preface is the critical attitude of Erasmus in the Annotationes added to his Greek New Testament of 1516 and his controversy with Faber Stapulensis in 1517. Leaders in the church such as Cajetan openly accepted these conclusions.[2] Luther expressed his critical attitude towards James in his Resolutiones[3] of 1519, and in De Captivitate Babylonica of 1520.[4] These opinions were also discussed by Luther in his sermons.[5]

The withdrawal of this notice is not to be taken entirely as a weakening of Luther's position about the books of the

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[1]"Eyn kleyn unterricht, was man ynn den Euangelijs suchen und gewartten soll," W.A., Bd. 10^{i} (II), lxxiv; Bd. 10^{i} (I), 8, 12 ff. Also, W. Köhler, "Einleitung zur Wartburg postille" (1522), pp. xli-lxxix, Esp. relation to the September Bibel, W.A., Bd. 10.1.2, p. lxxiii.

[2]Reu, op. cit., pp. 175-176. Leipboldt, op. cit., II, 13-32.

[3]W.A., Bd. 2, p. 425.

[4]Ibid., Bd. 6, p. 568.

[5]"I Peter sermons of 1522," W.A., Bd. 12, p. 268, 17 ff. Also "Leipboldt," op. cit., pp. 73-76.

"Awkward Squad." Especially on James (the only one mentioned in this notice) Luther became more set.[1] It is rather a weakening of his distinction between the chief and secondary books, which is the real issue of this preface. The practical needs of his movement made his earlier position more difficult to maintain.

[1]Cf. Walther, "Luthers spaetere Ansicht ueber d. Jakobusbrief," op. cit., pp. 170-172.

It is difficult to find any phase of Luther which has not been the subject of intensive study and research. The Research Project in the History of Interpretation carried on by the Department of [illegible] of the University of Chicago proposed a study of Luther's methods of interpretation. Dr. D. W. Riddle, head of this research project, noted that earlier investigators of this problem followed more or less one pattern, namely the tracing of Luther's development in methods of interpretation. All these scholars used the same materials. All neglected the biblical marginal notes. The prefaces were likewise neglected except the preface to Romans and the data of the prefaces which dealt with Luther's canon. At Dr. Riddle's suggestion the present writer was able to approach the study of Luther's principles and methods of interpretation with fresh materials, not as Luther said it should be interpreted (a favorite theme with the older writers), but as he actually did interpret in the editions of the New Testament. This, then is a source study uncontrolled by the opinions of former writers.

Indispensable for this study was the scientific establishment of the text of these prefaces and marginal notes in the Weimar edition.[1] The sources in many cases were also cited.

The method pursued required classification of the source

[1]"D. Martin Luthers Werke Kritische Gesamtausgabe," Die Deutsche Bibel, Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger: Weimar, Bd. 6 (1929), and Bd. 7 (1931).

CHAPTER IV

SOME INTERPRETATIVE ASPECTS OF LUTHER'S NEW TESTAMENT

It is difficult to find any phase of Luther which has not been the subject of intensive study and research. The Research Project in the History of Interpretation carried on by the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature of the University of Chicago proposed a study of Luther's methods of interpretation. Dr. D. W. Riddle, head of this research project, noted that earlier investigators of this problem followed more or less one pattern, namely the tracing of Luther's development in methods of interpretation. All these scholars used the same materials. All neglected the biblical marginal notes. The prefaces were likewise neglected except the preface to Romans and the data of the prefaces which dealt with Luther's canon. At Dr. Riddle's suggestion the present writer was able to approach the study of Luther's principles and methods of interpretation with fresh materials, not as Luther said it should be interpreted (a favorite theme with the older writers), but as he actually did interpret in the editions of the New Testament. This, then is a source study uncontrolled by the opinions of former writers.

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[1] "D. Martin Luthers Werke Kritische Gesamtausgabe," Die Deutsche Bibel, Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger: Weimar, Bd. 6 (1929), and Bd. 7 (1931).

materials according to their function. Of secondary interest was the literary types into which pithy comments and prefaces may be classified.

The appreciation of the background of Luther's religious experience is of fundamental importance in the approach to this study. The whole undertaking of translating the Bible, of furnishing prefaces, and supplying marginal notes is best understood in the light of Luther's own experience of salvation in the Word. His early position, that scriptures are superior in authority to the authorities of the church, was to be vindicated only by placing scripture in the language of the day in the hands of the people. But Jerome, Augustine, and many others had burdened scripture with their interpretations. If their approach was followed his work would not avail. It was not enough to place scripture in the hands of the people but a guide must also be given so that they would read the right things in the right way. This is plainly stated by Luther in his preface to the New Testament of 1522.[1]

> Es were wol recht und billich, das dis buch on alle vorrhede unnd frembden namen aussgieng, unnd nur seyn selbs eygen namen und rede furete. Aber die weyl durch manche wilde deuttung und vorrhede, der Christen synn da hyn vertrieben ist, das man schier nit mehr weys, was Euangeli oder gesetz, new oder alt testament, heysse fodert die noddurfft eyn antzeygen und vorrhede zu stellen, da mit der eynfelltige man, aus seynem allten wahn, auff die rechte ban gefuret und unterrichtet werde.

Fundamental to Luther's approach is the realization that all the New Testament books are not equally inspired. Nor was their authority equal. It was not enough that he totally excluded the Gospel of Nicodemus and the letter to Laodicea

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[1]"Vorrhede," W.A.D.B., Bd. 6, pp. 2-11.

(following the text of Erasmus) but he made distinctions within the New Testament itself. The hewbtbucher were the purest Gospel and the essential part of the New Testament. The secondary books were a mixed gospel which spoke of the deeds of Christ rather than his words, which made the mistake of placing love above faith[1] and which in general were quite inferior, though apostolic, to the chief books. In the prefaces to the four books, aptly characterized by Professor E. J. Goodspeed as the "Awkward Squad," which brought up the rear of the New Testament books, he enunciates his standards of canonicity.

Subjectively Luther determined upon this evaluation. The chief books had shown him the way and his spirit fitted in with them. His spirit bore testimony through his experience that they were the Word of God in its purity. Their contents bore witness to the fact that they were inspired. It was the contents, rather than the authorship, which determined the apostolicity of the book. The rogues and villains of Biblical history could be their authors and still they would be apostolic if they Christum treyben.[2] Having determined upon it subjectively as the chief criterion to which all others were subject, he sought to rationalize his evaluation through other standards. The testimony of the church was valuable as to the authenticity of a book, and the evaluation of the ancients was likewise of importance, but these two criteria were decidedly minor compared to the rechte prufesteyn.[3]

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[1]Cf. Marginal note on I Corinthians 13:13.

[2]"Vorrhede auff die Episteln Sanct Jacobi unnd Judas" (1522), W.A.D.B., Bd. 7, p. 384.

[3]Ibid.

Fundamental to Luther's approach was the normative character of the chief books. All scripture must either agree and made to conform with them, or else not be considered as scripture. Hebrews could not agree with Paul even with interpretative devices, James was directly against Paul, Jude had copied Peter, and no one could understand the verborgene, stumme weissagung[1] of Revelation. Acts had the right relationship. It could well be designated as eine glose upon the teachings of Paul, proving with examples what Paul has been teaching with words. The secondary books were not normative but they were good as far as they agreed and established the doctrines of the chief books.

A parallel method was used in determining the Old Testament canon as shown by the prefaces to the apocryphal books.

Four general types of prefaces occur in the New Testament. The propaganda type of preface indicates to the reader what approach he should make to the book. Theological word study is a favorite device. The prominent examples of this type are from the chief books, namely Romans and the preface to the Johannine Epistles. The general preface to the New Testament is also of this type. The remaining prefaces of the chief books, Galatians, Ephesians, and I Peter, are of the digest type.

The digest type of preface gives the outline of contents. Each chapter is taken in order. These prefaces are also highly of the nature of propaganda. All of the secondary books with the exception of Acts (1533) and I Corinthians (Revised preface of 1530), are of this type. The two books mentioned carry

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[1]"Vorrede auf die offenbarung S. Johannis" (1530), W.A.D.B., Bd. 7, p. 408.

prefaces of a definite polemical tone and content.

The apologetic prefaces states Luther's reasons for evaluating some books as he does. These include the prefaces to the books of the "Awkward Squad" and the introductory preface wilchs die rechten und edlisten bucher des newen testaments sind.

Prefaces with a definite polemical note appear in the 1530 and 1533 editions. These include the Vorspruch to the New Testament, the prefaces to I Corinthians and Revelation of 1530 and the preface to Acts in the New Testament of 1533.

Had Luther been content with merely putting the scriptures in the hands of the people, he might well have never translated the Bible for them. Recent researches have dispelled the once current opinion that Luther's Bible was the first German translation to be widely used. The Bible before Luther had a large circulation in German and Latin. Edition after edition was necessary to supply the demand. Not to be forgotten is the widespread use of German and Latin Biblical works such as Psalters, Bible History books, Plenarias, etc. Luther's contribution was not in respect to Bible circulation.

Luther's translation was unique in these respects. It was made from the original language, not the Latin Vulgate. It recognized the fault of the antique versions in that their language was not the spoken language of the day. He anticipated the discoveries of the 19th century that the New Testament was written in the spoken language of its day. His genius lies in the fact that he considered accuracy in translation important but that a translation failed, even though accurate, if it was not smooth, good German. A translation that constantly called attention to the fact that it was a translation had failed miser-

ably.

Although the above represents his ideal, he found that there were certain things a translation could not do. To supply this deficiency he resorted to marginal notes that pertain to the text. It is interesting to observe the several types of notes used. Thirteen and six-tenths per cent of the notes deal directly with language. Of the eighty-five notes devoted to language, forty-eight are definitions of words used in the translation, ten offer synonyms, seven deal with the problem of translation, six give the original language, five explain phrases, three define names, and individual notes deal with such things as spelling, figures of speech, proverbs, and a supposed Hebraism. The latter Luther considered to be the literary device of expressing a positive truth in negative form. Luther's interest in the language note is constant throughout all the editions.

Another thing a translation could not do was to give the scriptural scenery and characters so important for a vivid picture of the book's message. Five and two-tenths per cent of the notes deal with things, and 0.8 per cent with characters. Six of the thirty-three notes devoted to things explain how things are done. Five notes give monetary equivalents. Five notes deal with military and government details. Five concern themselves with current religious beliefs of New Testament times. Three notes are geographical. Two notes give equivalent weights and measurements. The five miscellaneous notes deal with things from trees to food. Five notes explain characters to avoid confusion, to harmonize scriptural accounts, and to give their significance.

In five instances Luther found that the text was a problem.

His dictum that all scripture must agree made some readings impossible. A scribal error is usually supposed where the Greek omits a section found in the Vulgate. Eight-tenths of one per cent of the notes are devoted to this. Three of these notes attempt harmonization of accounts and two are concerned with omissions.

The largest class of notes is the paraphrase group. Twenty-one and five-tenths per cent of the notes or one hundred thirty-five of a total of six hundred twenty-eight are in this classification. This interest, like language, is constant in all editions and all books. Of these notes seventy-seven directly paraphrase the text in idiom or expansion not permitted in the translation. Twenty-two use the device of putting indirect discourse into idiomatic direct discourse. In twelve of these there is a propagandist interpretation. Ten describe the situation, five are slightly polemic, three give popular idioms (too popular for the translation itself), two are aids to Bible study and one states a positive truth negatively.

Another dictum pertaining to the text was that scripture is the best interpreter of scripture. Seven and two-tenths per cent of the notes are of this type. References to the Old Testament are most frequent; fourteen of the forty-five notes are of this kind. Most interesting of these notes is the one on Matthew 1:25 of 1522[ii] where the perpetual virginity of Mary is established by silence of which the silence about the return of the raven to the ark in Genesis 8 is given as a parallel. In nine notes Matthew is referred to for the statements of Jesus, etc. There are eight cross-references within Paul. In seventeen cases Paul is read into all scripture.

Interesting and of a contradictory nature to Luther's levels of inspiration, is the fact that in two cases Hebrews is used to interpret Romans. One of these gives the very passages to which he objected. Six notes compare the Gospels with each other.

The relation between the Old and New Testament is discussed in nine notes. John is read into other books in three instances. There is one instance of a cross-reference in John. Peter is read in one instance and one cross-reference is found in Luke. A total of 11.5 per cent or seventy-two notes are devoted to this sort of thing. It illustrates the dictum of the unity of scripture and that it is self-interpretative. But Luther seems to have forgotten entirely in some instances his evaluation of the books and in other instances he pushes greatly the ideas of the chief books upon their less esteemed fellows. But he is not consistent. Though Hebrews is used to interpret Romans in two instances, yet the figure of milk used in Hebrews is corrected by the same figure used in I Peter. These notes must not be confused with the marginal parallel references.

One hundred fourteen notes or 18.2 per cent are classified as Edification notes. Of these sixty-seven are popular theology, twenty-one are aids to Bible study, sixteen are exhortations for the Christian life, and eleven are devotional. All of these are propaganda for his cause. Twenty notes or 3.2 per cent are directly propaganda fitting in with the propaganda preface furnished for that book (Acts). Of the technical theology type, written in Latin, there are nine instances or 1.5 per cent. This type of note does not appear until the later years of Luther's life when this interest became more dominant with the institutionalizing of his movement. Eight of these notes appear in 1541 and one in

1543. With the exception of two notes, they are found in the 9th chapter of Acts describing the Way of Salvation doctrine from Paul's conversion experience. All of these notes occur in the secondary books.

Even after his break with the allegorical method,[1] Luther continued to use a controlled allegory. Six and seven-tenths per cent or forty-two notes are of this type. Twenty-eight are allegories of the commentator, eleven are allegories of the text, and three are illustrative of spiritualizing otherwise difficult passages. Thirty-seven of these notes appear before 1530. Three of these notes are withdrawn or revised in 1527[ii] to exclude the allegorical sections. It is indicative that he was consciously attempting to avoid this method.

But fourteen notes can be directly related to his experience and these only by interpretation. Three can be related to his experience of salvation, two can be attributed to his stand at Worms, two to his frequent attacks of pessimism, eight others to miscellaneous events, i.e., the radicals, the peasant war, his work on the catechisms, his work on the Liberty of the Christian man, etc. Luther sought to keep the personal element in the background.

Fourteen and six-tenths per cent or ninety-two notes are polemical in nature. Contrary to the usual frequency of occurrence that the majority appear in the first edition, the majority of these notes (fifty) were inserted in 1530. Thirty notes are in the first edition. This indicates Luther's growing bitterness to the papacy and his foes. Forty-nine of these notes are directly against the papacy, and nine are directly against the sects.

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[1]"Die sieben Busspsalmen (Erste Bearbeitung)" (1517), W.A., Bd. 1, p. 154; "Zweite bearbeitung" (1525), W.A., Bd. 18, p. 467.

The remaining thirty-four can be attributed to either group. Fifteen are against work righteousness, five are against worldly power, five against the gospel excess, five against the "wise-heads," and individual notes deal with false teachers, contemporary evils, and volcksreligion.

Almost half of the notes (45.5 per cent; two hundred eighty-five out of six hundred twenty-eight) occur in the first edition of 1522. The second edition of that year shows only eleven additions or 1.8 per cent. The 1526 edition adds only two or 0.4 per cent. The edition of 1527[ii] adds eighteen notes or 2.9 per cent. The 1530 edition shows the most general work on the entire contents with the addition of one hundred eighty-eight notes or 29.9 per cent. The 1533 edition adds thirty-two notes or 5.1 per cent. The 1539 edition adds only one note. A general revision took place again in 1541 and seventy-two notes were added or 11.4 per cent. In 1543 four notes were added or 0.6 per cent. In 1545 three notes were added or 0.5 per cent. In the 1546 final edition before Luther's death ten notes or 1.6 per cent were added. The prefaces occur as follows: twenty-one in 1522; three in 1530, two of which are revisions of 1522 prefaces; and one in 1533. One (1522 wilchs die rechten, etc.) occurs as late as 1537 (New Testament Edition) though not in the full Bible of 1534 ff. The great bulk of the work was done in 1522.

It is generally agreed that the notes were written in the margins of the proof sheets and the prefaces prepared in a similar manner. Thus the preface to Romans interrupts the folio numbering in the 1522 edition because it was inserted after the sheets had already been printed. It may be inferred that in this process of adding marginal notes, he came only as far as

II Thessalonians before his time was up for the final presentation of the proof, since only two notes occur after II Thessalonians, namely in Hebrews. It might also be concluded that Luther's intention was to have many more marginal notes because Matthew, the first book, received eighty-four in the first edition. As he went on, he seems to have found less time to accomplish this; it is also true that there were fewer things to comment upon without duplication. But in 1527, 1530, and 1541 the books neglected in the first edition are given their due share. The notes were revised as frequently as the text; this indicates that they were not a haphazard undertaking with Luther but had a definite purpose. The text alone, without the guidance of the notes, would fail in its objective of vindicating Luther's cause.

Not to be overlooked is the parallel between Luther's exegetical work and his biblical interpretative additions. The books which receive the most attention in 1522 are the ones which he had lectured or worked upon in connection with his Wartburg postil. Titus in 1527 reflects lectures of the same year. But most striking is the case of I Peter, Acts, and Revelation. The Preface to I Peter is used as the introduction to his commentary of the following year. Perhaps the commentary influences the influx of notes in 1530. But it must not be forgotten that the notes of 1530 reflect a general movement in all the books.

Revelation in the edition of 1530 reflects directly ideas which had been prominent in his writings since 1520. However, in 1528 several documents came to his attention which were in agreement with his interpretation of the pope as the Antichrist. One of these was Johann Purvey's commentary on Revelation of 1390. Another was an account of a vision seen first by a herm[illegible],

Nikolaus von der Fluhe, who died in 1488. A third was the prophetic booklet of the astrologer, Johann Lichtenberger, which had been newly translated by Stephan Roth in 1527. To the first and last he wrote prefaces, to the vision he wrote an interpretation.

Contemporary events, especially the menace of the Turks, hastened his work in translating Daniel and from the Coburg he issued separately the 38th and 39th chapters of Ezekiel with comments. I Maccabees was interpreted allegorically and the villain of that historical work became the contemporary anti-christ.

Luther's judgments of Revelation then, do not represent a sudden interest, but one of long duration reaching its climax about the time that his biblical preface and interpretative notes appear. It was likewise a sustained interest to the end of his life.

The comments on Acts (1533) were prepared in his own 1530 Bible in connection with a proposed work on de loco iustificationis. The constant additions to John's Gospel are paralleled by his sermons from 1530-41. I Timothy of 1530 reflects lectures of 1528. But some lectures and commentaries are not reflected. The lectures of 1527 and the sermons of 1533 on I John find no apparent response in the marginal notes of that book. His work on the Vater Unsere, the Magnificat, and the Sacrament of the Altar previous to 1522 have no influence on the notes on those passages, for there are none. The influence of later sermons on Matthew, Luke, and I Corinthians is practically nothing. The only thing that can be assumed in this matter is that in some cases Luther's other works affect his biblical notes and

prefaces and in other cases they do not.

In conclusion it may be observed that a total of 53.4 per cent of the notes pertain to the text, 29.6 per cent are propaganda for his cause and doctrines, 14.7 per cent are definitely polemical, and 2.3 per cent reflect his experiences. Of the last class it must be recognized that none of them state specifically that experience. But the emphasis upon the text and its literal meaning, the right approach to scripture, and his bitter polemic are understood only in the light of his salvation and succeeding experiences.

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CHAPTER V

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